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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

VOL. VI.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO

THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

YEAR 1799.

BY W. BELSHAM.

VOL. VI.

BENEFICIO QUAM METU OBLIGARE HOMINES MALIT; EXTERASQUE GENTES FIDE AC SOCIETATE JUNCTAS HABERE, QUAM TRISTI SUBJECTAS SERVITIO.

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GEORGE III.

BOOK XVII.

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THE new parliament was convened at a ſeaſon of the year unuſually early, viz. the 6th of October (1796). The ſpeech from the throne afforded much ſatisfaction, as the harbinger of returning peace. "I have omitted no endeavours (ſaid his majeſty) for ſetting on foot negotiations to reſtore peace to Europe, and to ſecure for the future the general tranquillity. The ſteps which I have taken for this purpoſe have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the iſſue of which

which muſt either produce the deſirable end of a juſt, honorable, and ſolid peace, for us and for our allies, or muſt prove beyond diſpute to what cauſe alone the prolongation of the calamities of war muſt be aſcribed.—The fortune of the war on the continent has been various, and the progreſs of the French armies threatened at one period the utmoſt danger to all Europe; but from the honorable and dignified perſeverance of my ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity, diſcipline, and invincible ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces, under the auſpicious conduct of the archduke Charles, ſuch a turn has lately been given to the courſe of the war as may inſpire a well-grounded confidence that the final reſult of the campaign will prove more diſaſtrous to the enemy than its commencement and progreſs for a time were favorable to their hopes."

The addreſſes moved, being expreſſed in general and moderate terms, were acceded to with little oppoſition in both houſes; excepting that lord Fitzwilliam, who had imbibed, in all their extent, the violent opinions of Mr. Burke, and who conſidered peace with France as involving in it danger, miſchief, and ruin to England, entered on the journals of the peers a very elaborate proteſt, aſſigning no leſs than ten diſtinct reaſons for refuſing to concur in an addreſs of

approbation for ſetting on foot the preſent negotiation.

Mr. Fox congratulated the houſe of commons that his majeſty's miniſters had at length done what he had for three years earneſtly adviſed; but he lamented that this meaſure had not been adopted before a hundred millions had been ſpent, and a hundred thouſand lives been ſacrificed, in this bloody and fruitleſs conteſt. He ſaid he did not wiſh to recollect, much leſs to retaliate, the reproaches and invectives formerly pronounced againſt him, as degrading by his counſels the dignity of the Britiſh nation, and laying his majeſty's crown at the feet of the French republicans.

On the 18th of October the houſe of commons reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider that clauſe of his majeſty's ſpeech which alluded to the intention manifeſted by the enemy to attempt a deſcent on theſe kingdoms. In addition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the chancellor of the Exchequer declared to be more formidable than it had ever been at any former period, he propoſed—1ſt, a levy of 15,000 men, from the different pariſhes, for the ſea-ſervice, and for recruiting the regiments of the line, great numbers of which he ſtated to have fallen in defence of our foreign poſſeſſions: 2dly, he ſuggeſted a ſupplementary

levy

levy of militia, to conſiſt of 60,000 men, not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and gradually trained, ſo as to be fit for ſervice in a moment of danger: 3dly, Mr. Pitt propoſed to raiſe a conſiderable force of irregular cavalry—every perſon who kept ten horſes to provide one horſe and one horſeman to ſerve in a corps of cavalry, thoſe who kept more than ten to provide in the ſame proportion, and thoſe who kept fewer to form themſelves into claſſes, and decide who, at the common expenſe, ſhould provide the horſe and horſeman. Theſe ſeveral propoſitions received the ſanction of the two houſes, and paſſed into laws; but the plan for raiſing an additional body of cavalry, though a ſecond and third act paſſed to explain and amend the firſt, was framed in a manner ſo diſgracefully crude, confuſed, and complex, that it was found totally impracticable in the execution; and it was in a great meaſure ſuperſeded by the numerous volunteer corps of yeoman-cavalry which were, about this time, embodied in all parts of the kingdom.

On the 21ſt of October, upon the motion of Mr. Windham, 195,000 men were voted for the land-ſervice, and ſoon afterwards 120,000 ſeamen and marines were voted for the naval ſervice, of the year,

In the beginning of December the chancellor of the Exchequer made his annual ſtatement to the houſe, according to which eighteen millions would be wanting, by way of loan, excluſive of five millions and a half of Exchequer-bills, and about thirteen millions and a half of Navy-bills, which he propoſed to fund; the intereſt of all which amounted to upwards of two millions per annum of additional and perpetual taxes. Mr. Pitt took this opportunity to acknowledge that he had made an actual advance to the emperor of divers ſums of money to the amount of about 1,200,000*l.* and he ſhould propoſe a vote of three millions to enable miniſters to give the neceſſary aſſiſtance to our allies in caſe we were obliged to perſevere in the war.—Mr. Fox roſe, and with great warmth and energy ſtated "that the miniſter had it undoubtedly in his power, many months ago, to have conſulted the houſe as to this ſubject; that having neglected ſo to do, and manifeſted a determination to diſpoſe of the public money without the knowledge or authority of that houſe, he ought for this conduct to be *impeached*. And for what was this money thus illegally and unconſtitutionally expended? Year after year had the miniſter calculated upon the events of the war; and year after year had the public been misled by his calculations. One hundred

hundred and fifty millions had been added to the debt of the country, and rivers of human blood had been made to flow. The miniſter now at length *talked* of peace; but as his ſkill in calculation was made a matter of boaſt, it might be wiſhed that he would one day ſit down in his cloſet, and calculate what a ſum of human happineſs he had deſtroyed already, what a waſte of human life he had occaſioned, and all this becauſe he could not ſooner diſcover that the French were capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity."—After theſe obſervations, which did not admit of any anſwer, the reſolutions moved by Mr. Pitt were ſucceſſively put and carried.

The meaſure thus adopted by the miniſter, of clandeſtinely remitting money to a foreign court, during the interval and even the ſitting of parliament, was too extraordinary not to attract the farther notice of oppoſition: and when the report of the Committee of Ways and Means was brought up, December 8, Mr. Fox again took occaſion earneſtly to requeſt the attention of the houſe to this ſubject. "Had miniſters (he remarked) found themſelves called upon by an imperious ſenſe of duty, when parliament was not ſitting, to grant a pecuniary aid to the emperor, and upon the meeting of parliament had ſubmitted the reaſons of their

conduct to the judgment of the houſe, the caſe would have differed very widely from the preſent. In the courſe of the laſt three months of the preceding parliament repeated applications were made to them reſpecting their intentions of granting or with-holding pecuniary aſſiſtance to the emperor; but they preſerved a profound ſilence on the ſubject; and we now find that a great part of the money had been remitted to the emperor when parliament was actually ſitting. Did the right honorable gentleman fancy himſelf better qualified to judge of the time and extent of the aſſiſtance neceſſary to be granted than the houſe of commons? As long as the queſtion was open to debate and diſcuſſion, the houſe was kept in total ignorance relating to it: they are, however, ultimately informed of the tranſaction;—but at what period? When the money has been paid, and deliberation is precluded. Mr. Fox hoped that, on this occaſion at leaſt, parliament would vindicate its own dignity and importance. If the houſe ſhould ſubmit to this daring encroachment on their rights, and the commons ſhould relinquiſh the guardianſhip of the public purſe, there would be little left, after the late violent encroachments on the conſtitution, to diſtinguiſh our government from that of abſolute monarchies."

Mr.

Mr. Pitt aſſerted, in reply, " that the general principles ſtated by Mr. Fox were ſubject to limitation; that in the beſt and pureſt æras of the conſtitution extraordinaries and votes of credit had been recognized as warranted by the ſpirit of it. He allowed that the miniſter who exerciſed the diſcretion veſted in him improperly was not exempt from cenſure; but the manner in which he underſtood the limitation referred to he would ſtate when called upon to make his defence."—The houſe of commons did not, however, appear entirely to enter into the views of the miniſter upon this momentous topic, nor ſeem diſpoſed to grant him their unreſerved confidence on a point which ſo nearly affected both their privileges and their power.

Sir William Pulteney, one of the comparatively few independent members who uſually voted with Mr. Pitt, declared " the concern and aſtoniſhment which he felt at this unconſtitutional appropriation of public money by the miniſter. It was indeed an undoubted and an unfortunate truth that extraordinaries and a vote of credit muſt be granted in every year of a war; but ſurely ſubſidies to foreign princes could never be intentionally included in them. New and urgent circumſtances might occur to render the exerciſe of miniſterial diſcretion proper;

per; but here the circumſtances were known and public. The dilemma to which the houſe was reduced, from the neceſſity they were under either to confirm a tranſaction ſo contrary to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, or by any retroſpective reſolution to ſhake the confidence of their allies in the public faith thus pledged by the miniſter, was a great aggravation of his miſconduct: and it was his opinion that a ſtrong mark of cenſure ought to be inflicted by the houſe, in order for ever to prevent any ſimilar violation of their moſt eſſential privileges."

Mr. Grey remarked, "that the inſenſibility of the houſe on former occaſions to the danger which threatened the conſtitution had encouraged the miniſter to venture upon this daring meaſure; and that his boldneſs had riſen in proportion to the obſequiouſneſs of parliament. From the inſpection of the papers before the houſe (Mr. Grey ſaid) it appeared that the *whole* of the money had been remitted during the ſitting of parliament, excepting the trifling ſum of 77,000*l.* Will the houſe, on ſuch a great conſtitutional queſtion as the preſent, be ſatisfied with pompous declamation? Surely there is a barrier, beyond which even the complaiſance of that aſſembly would not allow his majeſty's miniſters to extend their predatory encroachments,

croachments. *Vile* as the conduct of the laſt parliament had been, he did not believe they conſidered their vote of credit as conveying any ſuch power to miniſters; and he appealed to thoſe gentlemen preſent who were members of the former houſe of commons, whether, at the time the vote paſſed, they were in the remoteſt degree aware that they were giving two millions and a half of money to the emperor.—Mr. Grey moved that the ſecond reading of the Bill of Supply ſhould be poſtponed till the next day; and he would then move the houſe to reſolve that the miniſter had been guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor."

Mr. Wilberforce, who for two ſeſſions earneſtly, and not without ſome effect upon the houſe, and ſtill more upon the public at large, oppoſed the ruinous and frantic meaſures of the miniſter, had been, for a conſiderable time paſt, evidently wavering in his conduct; and he embraced the preſent opportunity to demonſtrate to the world that he was now again, from a diſpoſition, as thoſe who were friendly to him repreſented, weak not depraved, capricious not corrupt, as ready and willing as the moſt ſervile inſtrument of government to defend the worſt of men in the commiſſion of the worſt of deeds. This gentleman declared himſelf "averſe to poſtponing the vote of ſupply even for a ſingle

ſingle day; and averred that the vote of credit, if examined *attentively*, would be found to convey an impreſſion that miniſters were authorized in employing the money entruſted to them in ſuch a manner as the public exigencies might require."—After a long and ardent debate the houſe divided; and the numbers appeared to be, 58 for, and 164 againſt, the propoſed poſtponement of the ſupply.

In order to compel Mr. Pitt to ſtate the ſpecific grounds on which he ventured upon a ſtep ſo manifeſtly contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and by no means in conſiſtency with the ſenſe of the houſe, and much leſs of the nation, Mr. Fox, on the 14th of December, moved, "That his majeſty's miniſters, having at different times, and during the ſitting of parliament, directed the iſſue of various ſums of money for the ſervice of his Imperial majeſty, &c. have acted contrary to the truſt repoſed in them, and have thereby violated the conſtitutional privileges of this houſe."—This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Combe, one of the repreſentatives of the city of London, "in willing obedience (as he ſaid) to the inſtructions of his conſtituents, who, in common-hall, had that day, in the moſt expreſs manner, directed their repreſentatives to cenſure the conduct of miniſters in granting away the public money without

out conſent of parliament. He alſo, as a merchant, obſerved, that the diſcounting of the bills drawn for the purpoſe of remitting money to the emperor had been productive of extreme inconvenience both to the Bank and to the mercantile intereſt, and had occaſioned an alarming deficiency of circulating-caſh."—Mr. Pitt now roſe moſt reluctantly in his own defence; which conſiſted merely in citing a ſeries of parliamentary precedents totally irrelevant to the queſtion, as they referred excluſively to the remiſſion of ſums during the receſs of parliament, for purpoſes of urgency which could not be foreſeen previous to the prorogation, or which had been actually ſtated to the houſe as likely to occur, and for which a vote of credit had been avowedly granted. To relieve the miniſter from his diſgraceful embarraſſment, an amendment to Mr. Fox's motion was at length propoſed by one of his more moderate partizans, purporting, "that advancing the ſeveral ſums of money in the account then before the houſe, for the ſervice of his Imperial majeſty, *though* not to be drawn into PRECEDENT but upon occaſions of SPECIAL NECESSITY, was a juſtifiable exerciſe, *under the circumſtances of the caſe*, of the diſcretion veſted in his majeſty's miniſters by the vote of credit." The circumſtances of the caſe, it will be remembered, were, *that* the houſe

houſe of commons was actually ſitting when the money was remitted; *that* the miniſter ſtudiouſly avoided the moſt diſtant intimation of his intention to grant pecuniary aſſiſtance to the emperor when called upon for that purpoſe; and *that* the vote of credit was made a mere cloak and pretext for this infamous and daring impoſition on the houſe and the public, for which, in former times, no puniſhment ſhort of that which this abandoned and apoſtate miniſter had attempted to inflict on thoſe whoſe object it was to rectify theſe monſtrous abuſes by a radical reform in parliament, would have been deemed too ſevere. The houſe, after long and vehement debate, at length divided upon the amendment—Ayes 285, Noes 81.

On the 27th of December, a meſſage from the king was laid before the houſe of peers by lord Grenville, ſtating, "That the negotiation, which an anxious deſire of peace had induced him to open at Paris, had been abruptly terminated by the French government;" and his lordſhip moved an addreſs to the throne, approving the conduct of miniſters in all the particulars of this tranſaction: to which the earl of Guildford propoſed an amendment, ſtating the miſconduct of miniſters during the whole of the preſent war, and charging them with inſincerity in every part of the negotiation. This produced

duced an animated debate, which terminated in the approval of the addreſs by a great majority.

On the 30th of December, Mr. Pitt moved the houſe of commons to take into conſideration a ſimilar meſſage delivered to the houſe. Upon this occaſion the miniſter pronounced one of the moſt eloquent, and at the ſame time one of the moſt inſidious and ſophiſtical, harangues of which there is any example in parliamentary hiſtory. He prefaced his ſpeech with an exordium, lamenting in impaſſioned terms the failure of the late negotiation. He ſaid "that he had fondly hoped we ſhould have been relieved from the conteſt into which we had been forced againſt our will,—a conteſt produced by the repeated aggreſſions of an imperious enemy, —a conteſt undertaken from motives of inevitable neceſſity, undertaken to preſerve our conſtitution, to defend the general ſecurity of Europe, and from a ſacred regard to that good faith which we had pledged to our allies. From theſe cauſes we were forced into a ſtate of warfare; and, whilſt they continued to operate, we were alſo determined to perſevere; and the regret he felt was therefore without deſpondency, his diſappointment without deſpair. We had not (he ſaid) ourſelves to blame for this misfortune; it aroſe from the exorbitant pretenſions

ſions of our enemies: nothing had been wanting on the part of this country to reſtore peace on the grounds on which alone it was deſirable; for, when we wiſhed for peace, it was for a ſecure and permanent peace.—In March 1796 an offer had been made to treat in that way which had been ſanctioned by uſage and the general experience of nations. The offer was met on the part of the enemy by advancing a preliminary of ſuch a nature that no man could ſeriouſly juſtify and ſupport it. The anſwer to Mr. Wickham was founded upon what France choſe to call 'the law by which ſhe was bound.' What law? A law of their own making! a mere internal regulation! a principle annulling all treaties, in open defiance of the rights of Europe and the received maxims of nations!—The next mode which was adopted was an application through the medium of a neutral miniſter: the ambaſſador of the court of Denmark made this application, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, merely to know if they would ſend paſſports for a plenipotentiary to be ſent by his majeſty to Paris. How was this application received? For ſome time no anſwer was made. At laſt the Daniſh miniſter was informed—not by a written anſwer to a written note, but verbally—that if a miniſter were ſent, he would be furniſhed with paſſports when

when he arrived at their frontier. Had there been the moſt remote deſire on the part of his majeſty and his miniſters to retard the negotiation, was not this enough to juſtify them in abandoning their attempt? But ſo anxious were they to obtain the bleſſing of peace, that they reſolved to ſurmount theſe difficulties, and a flag of truce was ſent over charged with a commiſſion ſimilar to what had been given to the Daniſh miniſter. After a time, the requeſt was granted by the French government, not willingly, but of neceſſity.—The firſt object of the plenipotentiary was to do what was conformable to common ſenſe and eſtabliſhed uſage; to fix ſome acknowledged baſis upon which each party might come forward with ſome degree of certainty of obtaining the deſired object. The baſis propoſed was 'that compenſation ſhould be made to France, for proportionable reſtitutions from his majeſty's conqueſts on that power, for thoſe arrangements to which ſhe ſhould be called upon to conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe.' Was there any thing to be found of low ſordid intereſt in this? We propoſed to give up what the valor of England had acquired—not to aggrandize ourſelves in any other manner, but to preſerve our good faith to thoſe who had a right to rely upon it —

The *baſis* being, after much delay and difficulty, unequivocally acknowledged, it was requiſite to conſider what had been demanded under the above circumſtances: not the return of antient poſſeſſions—not for liberty to maintain our independence, to reject the fraternal embrace, and prevent the organization of treaſon: theſe did not reſt upon the permiſſion of the enemy—they depended upon the patriotiſm of the people of England: we only deſired to preſerve our good faith inviolate, and were ready to ſacrifice all our own advantages to obtain what we could not honorably give away without the conſent of the emperor. All the propoſitions underwent diſcuſſion between the plenipotentiary and the miniſter. ONLY *as to the* NETHERLANDS *his majeſty could on no account retract any part of his propoſitions*; *but every thing* ELSE *was ſubject to modification!*

"No ſooner had the ambaſſador (lord Malmeſbury) delivered in a *projet*, and announced that he was ready to enter into the diſcuſſion of particulars, than he was ordered to leave Paris, and the negotiation to be carried on by means of couriers. Such was the ſtudied inſult that had been offered to his majeſty!

"The Directory demanded, not as an *ultimatum* but as a preliminary, to retain all thoſe territories of which the chance of war had given them

them a temporary poſſeſſion, and reſpecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations, to paſs a conſtitutional decree, declaring that theſe ſhould not be alienated from the republic. But this perverſe and monſtrous claim, in virtue of which territories acquired by force of arms were annexed to a ſtate during the continuance of the war in which ſuch acquiſitions were made, could never be ſuppoſed to ſuperſede the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the ſeveral nations in Europe. It was impoſſible that the ſeparate act of a ſeparate government could diſſolve the ties ſubſiſting between other governments, or extend to the abrogation of treaties previouſly concluded. Yet this had been the pretenſion to which the French government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they had held out as a preliminary of negotiation to the king of Great Britain and his allies.

" There was no principle of the law of nations clearer than this—that when, in the courſe of war, any nation acquired new poſſeſſions, that ſuch nation had only temporary right to them, and that they do not become property till the end of the war: for, ſuppoſing the conqueror to inſiſt upon retaining them, becauſe he had paſſed a law that they ſhould not be alienated, might

not the neighbouring powers, or even the hoſtile power, aſk who gave him the right to paſs it? or what authority had he, as a ſeparate ſtate, by any annexation of territory, to cancel exiſting treaties, and deſtroy the equilibrium eſtabliſhed amongſt nations? Were this pretenſion tolerated, it would be a ſource of eternal hoſtility, and a perpetual bar to negotiation between the contending parties, becauſe the pretenſions of the one would be totally irreconcileable with thoſe of the other: this, in the inſtance of France, had been as inconſiſtent in its operations as it had been unfounded in its origin. The poſſeſſions which they had loſt in the war in the Weſt Indies they had made dependent parts of the republic. Tobago, which had been loſt in the preceding war, and which was recovered in the preſent by Britiſh arms, was made a part of indiviſible France; nor ſhould he be ſurprized to hear that Ireland, in conſequence of their intention to invade it, was conſtitutionally annexed to the republic!—Allowing, however, that the decree in queſtion was a valid principle of the French conſtitution, was it an evil without a remedy? No: M. de la Croix confeſſed it might be remedied; but not without the inconvenience of calling the primary aſſemblies. And were we then, after all our exertions to obtain peace, after being baffled

baffled in all our efforts by the pride and obſtinacy of the French government, our propoſitions ſlighted, and our ambaſſador inſulted,—were we now to conſent to ſacrifice our engagements, and to violate our treaties, becauſe, forſooth, it would be ſome inconvenience to call their aſſemblies, in order to cancel a law incompatible with the principle of fair negotiation? Shall we ſo far forget our honor, our dignity, and our duty, as to acquieſce in ſuch conditions? But this is not all the degradation to which they would have us ſubmit—We muſt engage, and as a preliminary too, to make no propoſitions contrary to their conſtitution and the treaties which bind the republic!

"This reſtriction is more unreaſonable than the other. The republic may have made ſecret treaties which we know nothing about; and yet that government expects that we are not to permit our propoſitions to interfere with theſe treaties. How can we know what the Dutch have ceded to France, or whether France may not have an oath never to give up the territories ceded to her by Holland? What ſecret article may be contained in her treaty with Spain, guaranteeing the reſtitution of Gibraltar, or ſome important poſſeſſion belonging to his majeſty? And after accepting terms, of which we are entirely ignorant, in what ſituation do

we ſtand? We at laſt arrive at a diſcuſſion of the government which France may chooſe to give to Italy, and of the fate which ſhe may be pleaſed to aſſign to Germany. In fact, the point is not how much you will give for peace, but how much you will ſuffer to purchaſe diſgrace. In theſe circumſtances, then, are we to perſevere in the war with an energy worthy of the Britiſh name, or, by ſending couriers to Paris, to proſtrate ourſelves at the feet of a ſtubborn and ſupercilious government, to do what they require, and ſubmit to what they impoſe? I hope there is not a hand in his majeſty's councils who would ſign the propoſals, a heart in this houſe which would ſanction the meaſure, or an individual in the Britiſh dominions who would act as the courier *."

To

* In the celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Erſkine (View of the Cauſes and Conſequences of the War) are to be found (p. 66—72) ſome admirable obſervations on the conduct of this negotiation, and on Mr. Pitt's ſingularly groſs misrepreſentation of the cauſes of its rupture. "The whole proceeding (ſays Mr. Erſkine) is neither more nor leſs than this:—The court of London having reſolved upon a *ſine qua non*, which they did not at firſt communicate, and which was in direct oppoſition to the former public *ſine qua non* of France, as expreſſed in the March preceding, propoſe mutual compenſation as the baſis of negotiation. The Executive Directory being determined not to adopt *that* baſis of compenſation which ſhould break in upon their former determination not to cede

To this ſpecious and ſplendid harangue Mr. Fox made a moſt able and memorable reply, marked with all the ingenuouſneſs, the generoſity, and profound political diſcernment, which had ſo long diſtinguiſhed the parliamentary efforts of this great and unrivalled ſtateſman. He began

cede the territory of the republic, anſwer, 'That they cannot accept compenſation as a baſis, unleſs they know what it comprehends; and they therefore demand of lord Malmeſbury to ſtate his ſpecific propoſition of compenſation.' This demand the ambaſſador, in purſuance of his inſtructions, of courſe refuſes, until the Directory ſhould firſt admit the baſis. After a conſiderable length of time in this diſpute about nothing, the ſpecified demand of compenſation was transmitted to, and delivered by, lord Malmeſbury, in which England demanded reſtitution to the emperor on the footing of the *ſtatus ante bellum*. This demand was not expreſſed in terms as a *ſine qua non*, or ultimatum, upon the face of the confidential memorial; but in the collateral diſcuſſions with M. de la Croix it *was* expreſſed as a POSITIVE ULTIMATUM, that Belgium ſhould not remain as part of France.—The Directory therefore repeated their former ultimatum upon that point, viz. 'that they would liſten to no propoſal contrary to the conſtitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic.' This anſwer being ultimatum againſt ultimatum, upon a particular point, the negotiation was brought to an inevitable concluſion; and it is ſelf-evident that this muſt have been its fate, in one day or in one hour, if Great Britain, aware with the reſt of Europe of the former determination of France regarding Belgium, and determined to continue to reſiſt that pretenſion, had aſked her *at once* whether ſhe would conſent to modify or abandon it?

"When the details of this negotiation came to be conſidered in the houſe of commons on the 30th of December laſt, the

began by obſerving "that the ſubject before them demanded, no leſs from its ſingularity than its magnitude, the deepeſt conſideration. After a war of four years' duration, and which they had been repeatedly told was a war of unparalleled glory and ſucceſs—a war certainly unparalleled

miniſter diſplayed all that dexterity and ability for which he is ſo remarkable. His object was to conceal from the houſe all theſe obvious concluſions, and to incenſe the parliament and the nation at the inſolent unfounded pretences of France, which defeated, by their unparalleled abſurdity and inadmiſſibility, the earneſt anxiety of miniſters for peace. He wiſely, therefore, and ably and dextrouſly, kept in the back ground the thing refuſed which formed the obſtacle; he *prudently* ſuppreſſed the details of his own adminiſtration, which had given to France both the power and the temper to refuſe the demanded ceſſion of Belgium;—even the danger of ſuffering Belgium to remain with France was much ſunk in his argument, and the evil mainly inſiſted upon was her *unfounded reaſon* for reſiſting the ceſſion. He not only enlarged upon the injuſtice of a nation finally annexing a territory acquired during the war,—forgetting the annexation of Corſica by his majeſty's ſolemn acceptance of its crown,—but, appealing to the French conſtitution, he denied that it eſtabliſhed the annexation of the Belgic provinces. This part of the miniſter's ſpeech was by far the moſt labored, argumentative, and ingenious; inſomuch, that I could not help being ſtruck in the moment with the force of that characteriſtic infirmity which ſeems to impel him, as it were by a law of his nature, always to act upon one principle under the pretext of another. The putting forward the reaſon of refuſal, and keeping back the value of the thing refuſed, and the chance of retrieving it by continuing the war, was only the parade and juggle of the day—It was to hide from the houſe and the country that we were actually to be at war for BELGIUM."

leled in reſpect to the torrents of blood which had been ſhed, and to the treaſure which had been expended in the proſecution of it—ſo far are we from having gained any object for which we originally embarked in hoſtilities, that the miniſter had that night come forward in an elaborate ſpeech, the intention of which was to prove that the enemy was become more unreaſonable in their pretenſions than ever. It would have been ſome ſatisfaction, in deſcanting upon the extravagance of theſe demands, had we been informed by what means the right honorable gentleman propoſes to reduce them. How often have we been told, that the reſources of the French nation were exhauſted—that they were not only on the verge, but in the gulf of bankruptcy! Their exertions became the more miraculous in proportion as their ruin was the more confidently foretold. After the egregious failure of his former predictions, what claim can the miniſter poſſeſs to the confidence of this houſe in the preſent moment? If Belgium could be reconquered by magnificent boaſts or pompous dec amations within theſe walls, we ſhould not have been reduced to the neceſſity of negotiating for its reſtitution, but have dictated the terms of peace long ago in the centre of Paris. Previous to the commencement of this fatal conteſt, with what

what earneſt efforts did I labor to perſuade this houſe of the propriety of ſending an ambaſſador to Paris, who might certainly have treated with every proſpect of ſucceſs;—but thoſe efforts were wholly unavailing. And when it is aſſerted that lord Malmeſbury was diſmiſſed in a way altogether unprecedented, the right honorable gentleman muſt ſurely have forgotten the manner in which M. Chauvelin was ſent from this country. In every negotiation the difficulty of coming to any definitive arrangement muſt be infinitely increaſed by the mutual prevalence of diſtruſt between the parties. And if that diſtruſt was juſtifiable on our part, might not thoſe who have been abuſed by miniſters with every term of invective and reproach which language affords be allowed to entertain in return ſome diſtruſt of them? Could they fail to recollect, in receiving the aſſurances of lord Malmeſbury's "high conſideration," that lord Auckland was created a peer for denouncing them to the world as MISCREANTS who ought to be put under the ſword of the law*? Two years ago, the miniſter, when preſſed upon

* From the month of May, 1789; that is to ſay, as ſoon as principles of political liberty began to emanate from the Conſtitutional Aſſembly; "from that moment it became (ſays an excellent political writer) the diurnal taſk of every newspaper under the influence of the Engliſh Treaſury to abuſe the revolution

upon the ſubject of peace, made uſe of the memorable words, "When France is in a condition to preſerve the relations of peace and amity." But when was ſhe proved incapable of ſuſtaining thoſe relations? Since that æra ſhe has made and maintained peace with Pruſſia, Spain, Naples, Tuſcany, and the princes of Germany. How, with ſuch open avowed opinions on your part, can you expect to conciliate confidence? To negotiate with effect, you muſt relinquiſh your angry paſſions and your inveterate prejudices, which were the original cauſe of the war. If the country thinks the adminiſtration of the right honorable gentleman *a bleſſing*,

volution, to pervert every good, to exaggerate every evil, to mutilate and misrepreſent every fact, to traduce and outrage the whole French nation in every ſentiment and operation." ———Utrum horum?

A diſtinguiſhed writer already repeatedly quoted, and whoſe publication, conſiſting of twenty-four pages only, ſeems dictated by the mouth of wiſdom upon the ſame ſubject, thus expreſſes himſelf. "A mere offer to put an end to hoſtility, while all the cauſes and all the effects of rooted hatred remain, can impoſe on no man. There muſt be a real diſpoſition to peace; and this muſt be manifeſted by a temperate, if not amicable, language, and by all the acts of kindneſs and conciliation which a ſtate of war will admit of; otherwiſe the forms of a negotiation avail nothing. If, while you offer peace in terms, your actions and diſcourſes indicate nothing but ſuſpicion, hatred, and revenge, you may poſſibly purchaſe a ceſſation of arms by conceſſions and ſacrifices; but you leave the enmity entire, and ſtrengthen it againſt you by the price you pay for a temporary ſuſpenſion of its effects. Whilſt the

a bleſſing, they muſt chooſe between that bleſſing and peace. In a negotiation, ſuch as that we are now inveſtigating the merits of, a degree of frankneſs, perhaps imprudent in other circumſtances, would have been the trueſt and wiſeſt policy. The abilities of the right honorable gentleman are confeſſedly great in a certain line, and as far as certain purpoſes go; but they are not ſuited to the peculiar and critical circumſtances of the preſent times. It is now more neceſſary than at any other period to act with a noble and generous ſincerity; inſtead of which the whole tranſaction diſplays the marks of prevarication, ſubterfuge, and evaſion. Lord Malmeſbury, who had at firſt no terms to propoſe, was afterwards inſtructed to bring forward

the negotiation laſted, invectives and abuſe againſt the French Directory went on as uſual, or with very little interruption, in the newspapers paid and inſtructed by our government. Every man in London knows that theſe papers ſpeak the language of miniſters, and that they are kept in conſtant pay on purpoſe to prepare the public to adopt the ſentiments and views of government. The French know it as well as we do; and this knowledge governs their opinion of our ſincerity, much more than the formal declarations and diplomatic phraſes in uſe among miniſters."

'*Queſtion Stated*,' p. 12.

Such was the caſe in the former war. "This outrageous language relative to America, (ſays Mr. Burke, in one of his political tracts) which has been encouraged and kept alive by every art, has already done incredible miſchief.—Can it be true loyalty to any government to flatter their pride and paſſions, rather than to enlighten their reaſon?"

forward ſuch as could not be ſuppoſed to undergo much diſcuſſion—ſuch as could not fail readily to attain the *purpoſe* of being rejected. If ſuch conſequence attached to Belgium, that a peace could not be concluded without its reſtitution, ſurely the Cape and Ceylon ought to have been offered for it. It muſt be undoubtedly an object of great regret to ſee Belgium annexed to the territories of the republic: but when negotiating upon a profeſſed baſis of compenſation, let not miniſters offer braſs for gold. Could it be ſeriouſly expected that France would relinquiſh her conqueſts in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, for the pretended equivalent offered by the Engliſh ambaſſador? You muſt carry on the war for ever, unleſs your negotiations are reſumed on other terms than thoſe which have been rejected. The *ſine qua non*, with reſpect to Belgium, is evidently the cauſe of the abrupt, though perhaps not unexpected, iſſue of the miſſion of lord Malmeſbury. The ambaſſador having declared verbally, though in poſitive terms, to M. de la Croix, his majeſty's determination not to relax upon that point, was aſked for his *ultimatum* in writing, which being refuſed, he was then ordered to depart the kingdom. But are we likely, by the expenditure of a hundred thouſand more lives, and a hundred millions more money, to effect the recovery

covery of Belgium by force of arms from the French? Will the miniſter declare, in plain terms, that the war is continued, and peace indefinitely removed, upon that hopeleſs contingency? Looking to the incapable and diſaſtrous manner in which the war has been conducted by the preſent miniſters, what have we to expect but a repetition of misfortunes—a continual progreſs from bad to worſe? I conjure the houſe to weigh the ſubject well, to conſider its immenſe importance, and to meet the queſtion openly and fairly. If the recovery of Belgium is in future to be the object of the war, let miniſters declare it explicitly, that the members of this houſe, and the public at large, may know to what extent they are pledged to the continuance of the preſent war, the conſequences of which were too dreadful to anticipate. With reſpect to the harſh language uſed by the French in the negotiation, had not that of miniſters been equally peremptory? We had declared our reſolution not to relinquiſh Ceylon and the Cape in terms as ſtrong as they had uſed not to relinquiſh Belgium. Upon what principle theſe reciprocal conqueſts were determined to be retained was, comparatively ſpeaking, of no moment. But had not the Conventional Aſſembly of France as good and valid a right to annex the Low Countries to the republic

republic as the executive government of this country to annex Corſica to the crown of Great Britain? And would not the ſame language have been uſed by us, reſpecting Corſica, as the French had held reſpecting Belgium, if we had equally the power of enforcing it? After all, was the Imperial court a party to this demand? No; it was a *ſine qua non*, made in a matter which primarily concerned the emperor, but to which he had never formally aſſented, and which we did not know whether he himſelf would inſiſt upon."—Mr. Fox concluded a moſt luminous and maſterly ſpeech, of which the foregoing ſketch is a faint and feeble reſemblance, by moving, as an amendment to the addreſs, in ſubſtance, " that this houſe had learnt, with inexpreſſible concern, that the negotiation for the reſtoration of peace had been unhappily fruſtrated. In ſo awful and important a criſis the commons felt it their duty to ſpeak to his majeſty with that freedom and earneſtneſs which became men anxious to preſerve the honor of the crown, and to ſecure the intereſts of the people. They deplored that, from the memorials, &c. ſubmitted to their conſideration, his majeſty's miniſters appear not to have been ſo ſincere in their profeſſions for peace as their repeated declarations had indicated. The inſincerity of the overtures made for that purpoſe

purpoſe was to be inferred from their having inſiſted, as a *ſine qua non*, on the ſurrender of the Netherlands by France. That this houſe had farther to regret that his majeſty's miniſters had repeatedly refuſed to enter into any negotiation with the French republic, upon the arrogant and inſulting pretence that the government of France was not capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity amongſt nations; and on this unfounded aſſumption had adviſed his majeſty to continue a war ruinous in itſelf, after the defection of the major part of his majeſty's allies. That his faithful commons will therefore proceed to inveſtigate the cauſes of that miſconduct, on the part of his majeſty's miniſters, which has involved this nation in her preſent misfortunes, and produced the failure of the late negotiation."—Upon the diviſion, previous to which, as on other critical queſtions, vaſt numbers of the members left the houſe, the amendment, thus powerfully enforced, was rejected by 212 to 37 voices.

THE ſtate of parties in Great Britain, at the commencement of the year 1797, was very extraordinary. The miniſter, Mr. Pitt, had now been in office thirteen years; and through a remarkable concurrence of circumſtances, though he had originally riſen into power by means the moſt

moſt queſtionable, and that power had appeared to reſt upon a foundation the moſt precarious, he was now ſupported in office by what might, on a tranſient view, be well miſtaken for the whole ſtrength and riches of the kingdom. He poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the king, of a vaſt majority of the two houſes of parliament, of the biſhops and clergy, of the landed proprietary, of the great monied and mercantile intereſts. To this vaſt combination what could be oppoſed?—Firſt, A comparatively ſmall, but highly-reſpectable, minority of the different claſſes of the community here enumerated, at the head of whom it was confidently hoped and believed was the prince of Wales, whoſe natural ſagacity and liberality of diſpoſition had led him, after the firſt tranſient moments of alarm, to a total diſapproval of the weak and wicked ſyſtem of miniſterial policy:—and his ſentiments were not the leſs firm and deciſive becauſe his political prudence induced him to abſtain from an open and offenſive avowal of them. Secondly, A clear majority of houſeholders of the middle ranks, who were much leſs under the influence of government than their ſuperiors, and whoſe alarms had never reached to the faſhionable pitch of extravagance. Thirdly, The generality of men of ſpeculation and literature, including not merely

the theoriſts, who delighted in forming benevolent but viſionary ideas of reform, but that ſmall and highly eſtimable claſs of men, combining with their literary and philoſophical acquirements a perfect knowledge of the great volumes of human nature and human life.—To adopt the language of the celebrated monarch of Pruſſia, "Il y a dans tous les états un nombre de citoyens, gens ſenſés, qui, loin du tumulte des affaires, les enviſagent ſans paſſion, et en jugent par la même ſainement; tandis que ceux qui tiennent en main le gouvernail ne voient les objets qu'avec des yeux faſcinés:"—ſuch were the men whom Mr. Pitt had reaſon to regard as his moſt deliberate and determined enemies. Fourthly, The bulk of the lower orders, who felt heavily and experimentally the evils, the miſchiefs, and burdens, of the war. —A remarkable inſtance of the animoſity of the populace againſt Mr. Pitt had occurred on the preceding 9th of November, when the miniſter, according to eſtabliſhed uſage, attending the annual feaſt at Guildhall, on the election of a lord-mayor, was treated by the mob aſſembled on the occaſion with every ſpecies of inſult and outrage. On advancing from St. Paul's to Cheapſide his carriage was violently aſſaulted, and, had not the doors been ſecured by internal faſtenings, it would have been forced open to

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the imminent danger of his perſon;—whilſt Mr. Fox, on the other hand, was received with all the popular demonſtrations of joy and affection.

In the courſe of the preſent war the remittances to the emperor and other foreign powers preſſed ſo heavily on the Bank of England, that early in the month of January, 1795, the court of directors informed the chancellor of the Exchequer, "that it was their wiſh he would arrange his finances for the year in ſuch a manner as not to depend on any further aſſiſtance from them." Theſe remonſtrances were renewed in the months of April and July in the ſame year; and on the 8th of October following they ſent a written paper to the miniſter, which concluded by ſtating "the abſolute neceſſity which they conceived to exiſt for diminiſhing the ſum of their preſent advances to government, the laſt having been granted with great reluctance, on their part, on his preſſing ſolicitations." In an interview with the chancellor of the Exchequer, which took place on the 23d of the ſame month, on the loans to the emperor being mentioned, the governor aſſured Mr. Pitt "that another loan of that ſort would go near to ruin the country." And on the 8th of November, 1795, the governor informed the chancellor of the Exchequer "that the daily large drains of ſpecie from the Bank

filled the minds of the directors with ſerious apprehenſions; and that in the preſent ſituation of affairs he muſt not rely on any aids from them, not even the Vote of Credit and Supply bills."

In the courſe of the enſuing year, the re-iterated demands of Mr. Pitt appear to have occaſioned extreme uneaſineſs in the breaſt of the directors of the Bank, who neither knew how to comply or to refuſe. In the month of July, having applied for two advances of 800,000*l.* each, one immediate, and the other in the courſe of the month, the court conſented reluctantly to accommodate the Treaſury with the firſt of theſe ſums, but ſignified their diſapproval of the ſecond demand. Mr. Pitt, on receiving a copy of the reſolutions from the governor, ſaid, "he was obliged to the court for what they did grant, which he ſhould accept of;" but added, "that it would be of no material uſe unleſs the other requiſition were complied with." And in a letter, dated July 28, 1796, he again urged the court of directors to advance the ſecond ſum of 800,000*l.*—adding his "farther and earneſt requeſt that the Bank would alſo make proviſion for the payment of ſuch Treaſury bills as may become payable in the months of Auguſt, September, and October;—in default of which the moſt ſerious and diſtreſſing

ſtreſſing embarraſſments to the public ſervice muſt ariſe." The court, on the receipt of this letter, agreed " with great reluctance, and contrary to their wiſhes," to adopt their own words, " to advance the ſecond ſum of 800,000*l.* and alſo to provide for the bills which ſhould fall due in the month of Auguſt, but not afterwards; and this upon condition the chancellor of the Exchequer will engage that a new mode of paying the Treaſury bills ſhall be adopted immediately on the meeting of parliament, as the court declared themſelves determined not to continue the preſent mode of diſcharging them any longer." This reſolution was accompanied by an excellent memorial preſented in form to Mr. Pitt by the governor, for the expreſs purpoſe of being laid before his majeſty's cabinet council. In this " ſerious and ſolemn remonſtrance," as they term it, the directors declare, " that nothing could induce them, under the preſent circumſtances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the dread that their refuſal might be productive of a greater evil, and nothing but the extreme preſſure and exigency of the caſe can in any ſhape juſtify them for acceding to this meaſure; and they apprehend that in ſo doing they render themſelves totally incapable of granting any farther aſſiſtance to government during the remain-

der of this year, and unable even to make the uſual advances on the land and malt for the enſuing year, ſhould thoſe bills be paſſed before Chriſtmas. They likewiſe conſent to this meaſure in a firm reliance on the repeated promiſes, ſo frequently made to them, that the advances on the Treaſury bills ſhould be completely done away, being actually fulfilled at the next meeting of parliament, and the neceſſary arrangements taken to prevent the ſame from ever happening again, as *they conceive it to be an* UNCONSTITUTIONAL *mode of* RAISING MONEY, *what they are* NOT WARRANTED *by their* CHARTER *to conſent to*, and an advance always extremely inconvenient to themſelves." This memorial, which might ſurely have ſufficed to alarm any miniſter leſs daring in his ſchemes of miſchief, ſeemed to produce no ſort of effect; and the requiſitions of Mr. Pitt were ſtill as urgent and preſſing as ever. On the 1ſt of February, therefore, (1797) the governor and deputy-governor waited upon him, in order to repreſent how uneaſy the court were at their large advances for government, and eſpecially on the Treaſury bills paid, which now amounted to 1,554,635*l.* and would, in a few days, be augmented to 1,819,818*l.*; and required that ſome effective meaſure ſhould be immediately taken for the payment of the whole of this ſum,

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as had been ſo ſeriouſly promiſed them ſhould be done at the opening of this year. After much ſhuffling, Mr. Pitt engaged that 150,000*l.* ſhould be paid off every week of the arrears of Treaſury bills, at the ſame time *hinting* that new bills, to the amount of 700,000*l.* had appeared from St. Domingo; on which the governor expreſſed great apprehenſion, and begged that Mr. Pitt would put off the acceptance of them, acknowledging that a farther drain of caſh from the Bank would be very dangerous, as the quantity of ſpecie had been of late very materially diminiſhed.—Things now ſeemed to be coming faſt to a criſis. On the 10th of February Mr. Pitt propoſed a loan for Ireland of one million and a half. At an interview which took place on the 18th, the governor told him "that ſuch a ſcheme muſt have the worſt effect poſſible; that it would cauſe the ruin of the Bank; for that ſuch a loan raiſed here would all be ſent over in money to Ireland, and would drain much of our ſpecie from us." And at a meeting of the committee on the next day, the governor was authorized and enjoined to aſſure Mr. Pitt "that, under the preſent ſtate of the Bank's advances to government, ſuch a meaſure would threaten ruin to the houſe, and moſt probably bring them under the neceſſity of ſhutting up their doors." Mr. Pitt nevertheleſs perſiſted in

his reſolution, declaring to the governor "that he found it to be a meaſure of government abſolutely neceſſary, notwithſtanding the difficulties and dangers which they foreſaw in the execution of it."

The public apprehenſions, at this period, of an impending invaſion from France, and poſſibly alſo the ſecret ſuſpicion of the critical ſituation of the Bank, occaſioned a run upon the Company ſo great as to excite the utmoſt anxiety of mind amongſt the directors on the ſubject. Each day alarmingly increaſed the *deficit*. On the 24th of February the deputy-governor and Mr. Boſanquet had another interview with Mr. Pitt, in which, having now gone by far too great lengths to retract, laying aſide their high tone of admonition and remonſtrance, they in a manner threw themſelves and the Company at the feet of this deſpot-miniſter, "requeſting of him to ſay how far he thought the Bank might venture to go on paying caſh, and when he would think it neceſſary to interfere before the caſh was ſo reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate ſervice of the ſtate." Mr. Pitt, having thus brought the Company by his wily arts to the brink of ruin, ſeemed mightily to exult; and ſaid, in a tone very different from that of humble ſolicitation, "that this was a matter of great importance,

and

and that he muſt be prepared with ſome reſolution to bring forward in the council for a proclamation to ſtop the iſſue of caſh from the Bank, and to give the ſecurity of parliament to the notes of the Bank; in conſequence of which he ſhould think it might be proper to appoint a ſecret committee of the houſe of commons to look into the ſtate of the Bank affairs."

In conformity to this intimation a board of council was held, and an order publiſhed on the 26th of February, prohibiting the directors from "iſſuing any caſh in payment till the ſenſe of parliament can be taken on that ſubject, and the proper meaſures adopted thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation, and ſupporting the public and commercial credit of the country at this important conjuncture."

On the following day a copy of the order of council was laid before the two houſes of parliament, accompanied with a meſſage from the king, ſtating "that an unuſual demand of ſpecie having been made from different parts of the country on the metropolis, it had been found neceſſary to make an order of council to the directors of the Bank, prohibiting the iſſuing of any caſh in payment till the ſenſe of parliament could be taken." In both houſes general addreſſes of thanks for his majeſty's gracious commu-

communications were voted, and committees of ſecreſy appointed to inveſtigate the affairs of the Bank of England. In the courſe of the debates which enſued, very ſevere cenſure and reproach were dealt out againſt thoſe who had brought the country into this novel and perilous ſituation, of which no one could divine the iſſue. It was remarked, that when the miniſter preſumed to plead neceſſity in juſtification of an act of power ſo alarming, he ought at leaſt to have been prepared to ſhew that the neceſſity had been occaſioned by no fault of his own: on the contrary, it was his unparalleled raſhneſs and obſtinacy which had created the neceſſity altogether. Let him repay the directors the ten millions they had advanced in dependence upon his re-iterated and faithleſs promiſes; let him refund the vaſt ſums he had illegally and unconſtitutionally remitted to the continent; and the difficulties they labored under would ceaſe. It was not that the Bank were unable to ſatisfy their creditors, but it was the continued demand of money to feed the expenſes of this ravenous and diſaſtrous war which compelled them to be unjuſt. The directors, in contradiction to their better judgment, were trepanned and inveigled by the miniſter into the diſgraceful predicament in which they ſtood; and the fatal order of council at

laſt

laſt impoſed upon them was adopted only as the leaſt of the evils to which they were ſubjected. At length an amendment was propoſed by Mr. Sheridan to Mr. Pitt's motion for the appointment of a committee—"That the ſaid committee ſhould be alſo empowered to enquire into the cauſes which had produced the order of council of the 26th of February laſt," which was, after much debate, negatived by 244 to 86 voices.

On the 1ſt of March Mr. Fox moved that a ſeparate committee ſhould be appointed for the purpoſe above mentioned. This was vehemently objected to by Mr. Pitt as wholly ſuperfluous; which indeed was, in a ſenſe moſt diſgraceful to himſelf, but too true.—It was alſo oppoſed by Mr. Windham, who, beſtowing high eulogiums on the miniſter, was reminded of his former memorable threat while yet adverſe to the ſyſtem he now ſupported—'that he would ſtrip off the right honorable gentleman's embroidery, and expoſe to view the filthy dowlas which lay concealed beneath it.'—Mr. Wilberforce likewiſe, renouncing all pretenſion to that reſpect which is due to candor and conſiſtency, heſitated not to declare "that, from the commencement of the war, much of the public calamity was owing to the conduct of oppoſition!" To that fickle and faithleſs part of the oppoſition,

oppoſition, indeed, which voted alternately for and againſt the miniſter, without ſenſe or ſyſtem, this cenſure was but too clearly and directly applicable.—Mr. Fox, in remarking upon the neceſſity of the propoſed enquiry, aſked, "Whether any man breathing had any doubt of the ſolidity of the Bank before the miniſter laid his rapacious hands upon the treaſure depoſited there, and which he had applied to the moſt unlawful and unconſtitutional purpoſes? Enquiry (he ſaid) was, at all events, indiſpenſable; for, to uſe the celebrated argument of Demoſthenes to the Athenians, if it ſhould appear that the deplorable ſituation of the country was brought on by the groſs miſconduct of the miniſter, then the people would have the conſolation to reflect that their affairs might yet be retrieved; but if, as the miniſter aſſerted, affairs had been conducted wiſely and well, then the people could expect nothing but inevitable ruin."—The houſe divided: for the motion 67, againſt it 141.

Upon the report of the committee, it appeared that the amount of demands upon the Bank was 13,770,000*l.*; that their aſſets, excluſive of the permanent debt due from government, amounted to the ſum of 17,597,000*l.*; ſo that there remained a ſurplus of 3,826,000*l.* excluſive of the capital ſum of 11,600,000*l.* three-

per-cent.

per-cent. ſtock, lent at different times to government, on parliamentary ſecurity. This being eſtimated at fifty per cent. agreeably to the actual price of the three-per-cents. the whole of the capital veſted in the corporation of the Bank, after the payment of debts, amounted to the vaſt ſum of 9,626,000*l.* The publication of this report immediately allayed, and almoſt extinguiſhed, the exceſſive alarm excited in the mercantile world by the ſtoppage of the Bank. A bill was forthwith introduced, confirming the order of council, and ſuſpending the law for preventing the iſſue of notes under five pounds' value; in conſequence of which the circulation of ſpecie was ſuſpended, and the kingdom inundated with notes of twenty ſhillings' and forty ſhillings' value. A clauſe of the utmoſt importance was alſo inſerted for preventing any perſon from being held to bail who offered Bank-of-England notes in diſcharge of debts; which was going, to every practical purpoſe, the length of making them a legal tender. But as government-collectors and officers of the revenue were not only permitted, but obliged, by a clauſe of the bill, to receive theſe notes in payment of taxes, immenſe as they were now become, no conſiderable inconvenience was in fact felt from this extraordinary ſtate of things by any claſs or deſcription

tion of perſons. The notes themſelves ſuffered not the leaſt depreciation; and the diſaſtrous conſequences which might, with great probability, have previouſly been ſuppoſed to reſult from the daring and deſperate conduct of the miniſter, were happily found to be fallacious.

On the 10th of March Mr. Sheridan moved ſeveral reſolutions relative to the Bank, of which the moſt remarkable went to the reſtoration of the important clauſe in the original act of king William, reſtraining the Bank from making any advances to government but on funds granted by parliament, under the penalty of forfeiting treble the amount, and which was moſt inſidiouſly repealed by Mr. Pitt in the ſeſſion of 1793. But ſo far were the directors of the Bank from concurring in this meaſure, that they made it an expreſs ſubject of their complaint that they were required to advance money to government in an unconſtitutional manner. This was negatived by the accuſtomed miniſterial majority.—The houſe being in committee upon the Bank Bill, Mr. Fox gave notice of an amendment to the ſecond clauſe, "That the Bank ſhould be prohibited from making any advances to government, by which the exiſting debt ſhould be increaſed, during the continuance of the preſent act." Had this amendment, ſo obvious and rational, been carried, all

Mr.

Mr. Pitt's views of future and greater *accommodation* would have been fruſtrated; but it was, as uſual, negatived at the inſtance of the miniſter, who had now completely ſucceeded in converting the Bank of England into a mere engine of government, in bringing an indelible diſgrace on its reputation, and in making it entirely ſubſervient to the advancement of his own ruinous, wicked, and frantic projects.

On the report of the committee on the Bank Bill, ſir William Pulteney propoſed a clauſe, the object of which was to enable the Bank to reſcind the reſtrictions of the bill at any period leſs diſtant than the 24th of June, to which it was originally limited. But this was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, and negatived, though by 36 voices only.

On the 24th of April, when the ſupplies of the year were ſuppoſed to be voted, and the exigencies of government fully provided for, Mr. Pitt ſuddenly came forward with propoſals for a ſecond loan, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and covering a vaſt maſs of floating and unfunded debt, conſiſting of Exchequer-bills, Navy-bills, &c. adding alſo a vote of credit for three millions, with a view to another prodigal remittance to the emperor. The whole ſum propoſed to be funded was preciſely eighteen millions, as before; and for every 100*l.* in money,

money, 175*l.* three-per-cent. and 20*l.* four-per-cent. ſtock were to be granted by government, together with a long-annuity of 6*s.* 6*d.* For the intereſt of this ſecond ſtupendous loan, raiſed upon terms ſo exorbitantly uſurious, taxes were again impoſed to the amount of 1,284,000*l.* which, conjointly with the taxes of the preceding loan, made up the ſum of 3,416,000*l.* Such were the immenſe and incredible ſupplies which Mr. Pitt could extort from the people of England in a ſingle ſeſſion, in order to carry on the preſent incomprehenſible war; although, when a ſinking fund was to be created ten years previous to this period, he could never deviſe the ways and means of raiſing one ſolitary million for that moſt ſalutary and important of all purpoſes—the redemption of the public debt! And ſo incorrect—or, to ſpeak plainly and properly, ſo deteſtably deceitful—had been the eſtimates preſented to the houſe from time to time, that, in the four years which had now elapſed ſince the commencement of the preſent war, about fifty-one millions had been contracted with, and more than forty-nine millions without, the previous conſent of parliament, as appeared by the papers laid before the houſe.

On the firſt of May Mr. Pitt moved for a loan of three millions and a half to the emperor, of which 1,600,000*l.* had been already remitted.

Alſo

Alſo another loan of one million and a half for the ſervice of Ireland. The ſum of 80,000*l.* was moreover granted as a portion to the princeſs-royal, on her marriage to the duke of Wirtemberg.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Dundas brought forward his ſtatement of India finance; and in his ſpeech upon this occaſion he apprized the houſe, that though there appeared to be, from various cauſes, a decreaſe of revenue, owing to a diminution in the ſale of certain articles during the war, and an increaſe of military arrangements, the Company's affairs were, notwithſtanding, as favorable and as flouriſhing as the moſt ſanguine perſon could wiſh; and the reſolutions moved by him in affirmance of his ſtatement were agreed to with little oppoſition.

Addreſſes to the throne, of a pacific tendency, were alſo moved, during the ſeſſion, by the earl of Oxford in the upper houſe, and by Mr. Pollen (one of the few proſelytes from the majority) in the commons, giving riſe to debates, in which the queſtions reſpecting the conduct of miniſters relative to the war, and the late abortive attempt at negotiation, were again ably and copiouſly diſcuſſed without producing any ſenſible effect. Mr. Pitt had the boldneſs, on this occaſion, to declare to the houſe "that

peace did not depend upon their declarations, which were more likely to fruſtrate than to accelerate this object." Strange doctrine from one who had been himſelf a party in the declarations of the houſe which had been the means of terminating the American war! "We have tried the executive government (ſaid Mr. Fox in anſwer) long enough to be convinced that no good would be done by confiding in the promiſe of miniſters any longer. Let us not perpetually *talk* of our wiſhes for peace; let us uſe means for obtaining it. Let us truſt miniſters no longer; LET US VOTE for PEACE." The diviſion in the upper houſe was 16 to 52*, and in the lower 85 to 291.

So

* The addreſs moved by the earl of Oxford was excellently framed, and is, from its merit, entitled to inſertion at full length. His lordſhip moved "That an addreſs might be preſented to the throne, to repreſent to his majeſty, that, in the preſent alarming ſituation of the country, the houſe conſidered it to be its duty to apprize him of his own danger and of the ruin which threatened the nation. That the ſhock which had been lately given to public credit muſt deprive us of thoſe means whereby we were enabled to hold our rank amongſt nations, unleſs we were relieved from our preſent enormous expenditure by an immediate, ſincere, and laſting peace. That the houſe ſaw with concern that the late negotiation was broken off by the conduct and demands of his majeſty's miniſters, and not by want of diſpoſition for peace on the part of the French. That, in anſwer to the note delivered by Mr. Wickham, the Directory declared, that, 'yielding to the ardent deſire to procure peace, it would not

fear

So early as the month of February, in the preſent year, it was obſerved that ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction appeared on board the Channel fleet; and ſome anonymous but not ill-written letters were received by lord Howe, 'the ſeamen's friend,' from Portſmouth, ſtating their grievances, and requeſting his intereſt to obtain redreſs. Theſe complaints were not of a poli-

fear to expreſs itſelf openly: charged by the conſtitution with the execution of the laws, it could not make or liſten to any propoſal which would be contrary to them: the Conſtitutional Act did not permit it to conſent to any alienation of that which, according to the laws, conſtituted the territory of the republic.' That it was impoſſible his majeſty's miniſters could have miſunderſtood this declaration; for in the note dated Downing-ſtreet were theſe words: 'To a demand ſuch as this is added a declaration that no propoſal contrary to it will be made or liſtened to.' That ſix months afterwards the miniſters again made overtures for peace; but in ſo ungracious a manner that their ſincerity might reaſonably be queſtioned; and demanded, as their SINE QUA NON, thoſe very terms which, before they began their negotiation, THEY KNEW WOULD BE REFUSED. That, under all theſe circumſtances, the houſe humbly and earneſtly entreated his majeſty to enter into a negotiation upon ſuch terms as France would be likely to liſten and accede to, and in ſuch a manner as would leave no doubt of a pacific intention. And the houſe begged leave to aſſure his majeſty that it would entertain no doubt of the ſucceſs of ſuch a negotiation; and would feel confidence, after the reſtoration of peace, that ſuch wiſe regulations might be adopted by the legiſlature as would relieve the people from their burdens, remove every complaint of unequal repreſentation, reſtore their antient conſtitution, and enſure to his majeſty the affections of his ſubjects,—the glory, proſperity, and happineſs, of his future reign."

tical but perſonal nature, and related chiefly to the very bad quality of their proviſions, and to the ſcantineſs of their allowance, notwithſtanding the incredible extravagance of expenditure in the Navy and Victualling offices. Theſe intimations being unfortunately neglected, on the return of the fleet to port, March 31, a general correſpondence took place by letter from ſhip to ſhip, and at length it was unanimouſly agreed that no ſhip ſhould lift an anchor till the demands of the ſeamen were complied with. On the 14th of April, lord Bridport, the admiral, unſuſpicious of the mutiny, making a ſignal to prepare for ſea, the ſeamen of his own ſhip, inſtead of weighing anchor, ran up the ſhrouds, and gave three cheers, which were inſtantly anſwered from the other ſhips. Delegates were then appointed from each ſhip to repreſent the whole fleet, who met in the admiral's cabin; and petitions being drawn up, were preſented to the admirals then on the ſpot, praying for an increaſe of wages, and the eſtabliſhment of various regulations reſpecting proviſions; and expreſſing their hope that a ſatisfactory anſwer might be given to their petitions before they were ordered to put to ſea again; qualified, however, with the remarkable exception, 'unleſs the enemy were known to be at ſea.' On the 17th the men were publicly ſworn to ſup-

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port the cauſe in which they were engaged. On the next day a committee of the Admiralty, with earl Spencer at their head, arrived at Portſmouth, who made ſeveral propoſitions to reduce the men to obedience. The lords of the Admiralty next proceeded on board the Queen Charlotte, and conferred with the delegates from the ſeamen of the fleet, who aſſured their lordſhips that no arrangement would be conſidered as final until it ſhould be ſanctioned by the king and parliament, and guarantied by a proclamation for a general pardon. On the 23d the admiral returned to his ſhip, hoiſted his flag again, and, after a ſhort addreſs to the crew, he informed them that he had brought with him a redreſs of all their grievances, and his majeſty's pardon for the offenders. After ſome deliberation, theſe offers were accepted, and every man returned with cheerfulneſs to his duty. But, in conſequence of a moſt hazardous and reprehenſible delay in bringing this buſineſs before parliament, the ſpirit of mutiny was again excited, and on the 7th of May, when lord Bridport once more made the ſignal to put to ſea, every ſhip at St. Helen's refuſed to obey. Admiral Colpoys, who attempted the reſtoration of diſcipline, was put under arreſt, and ſeveral lives were loſt in a ſkirmiſh between the ſeamen and marines. Immediate intelligence

of this new and alarming inſtance of diſobedience being tranſmitted to London, Mr. Pitt, on the 8th of May, thought fit at length to introduce the ſubject into the houſe of commons, and moved for the ſum of 372,000*l.* for nine months' increaſed pay and allowance of proviſions, commencing from the 1ſt of April, requeſting that this motion might paſs the houſe, to avoid all misrepreſentation by a ſilent vote. Mr. Fox ſaid, "that it was by ſilence and the want of diſcuſſion the miſchief had happened. If, when it was firſt known that the ſeamen were diſſatisfied, the houſe had been conſidered as entitled to the confidence of miniſters, and the buſineſs had been properly diſcuſſed, the events of Eaſter would not have taken place. But the delay which had intervened ſeemed purpoſely meant to give ſcope for miſrepreſentation." After an angry debate, the reſolution paſſed.

On the ſucceeding day the ſubject was revived by Mr. Whitbread, who declared, that unleſs a ſatisfactory explanation was given reſpecting that fatal delay, for which the miniſter ſtood reſponſible to that houſe and the country, it was his intention to move a direct vote of cenſure againſt him. Mr. Pitt ſtill perſiſted in his ſilence; ſaying only "that the neceſſary time had been taken for *preparing eſtimates*." After

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ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the part of oppoſition, a meſſage was ſent to the lords, to deſire that they would continue ſitting for ſome time; and the bill, founded upon the reſolutions of Mr. Pitt, was brought in, and paſſed through all its ſtages in both houſes in one day.

Lord Howe was immediately diſpatched to Portſmouth as the welcome meſſenger of this intelligence, bearing alſo, with the Act of Parliament, his majeſty's proclamation of pardon for all who ſhould forthwith return to their duty. This celebrated veteran was received with the loudeſt acclamations of affection and applauſe; the officers were re-inſtated in their commands, the flag of diſaffection was ſtruck, and the fleet put to ſea to encounter the enemy.

However ſpeedily and happily this mutiny had been appeaſed, the example was very dangerous, and it was immediately followed by the North-Sea fleet lying at the Nore, under the command of admiral Buckner, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line and as many of inferior ſize. The mutineers, in imitation of what had been done at Portſmouth, choſe delegates from every ſhip, of whom a man, named Parker, was appointed preſident. After having either confined or ſent on ſhore their principal officers, they tranſmitted to the lords of the Admiralty a ſeries of articles or conditions to which they

peremptorily demanded compliance, as the only terms upon which they would return to obedience; though ſeveral of them were of a nature totally different from thoſe inſiſted upon at Portſmouth, and altogether incompatible with the diſcipline of the navy. On the 23d of May the mutineers hoiſted a red flag on board the admiral's ſhip the Sandwich, and dropped down to the Great Nore, in order to concentrate the ſcene of their operations. The mutiny having now riſen to a moſt alarming height, a deputation of the lords of the Admiralty, earl Spencer himſelf, as before, being at the head, proceeded to Sheerneſs, and offered to the delegates the ſame terms which had been already accepted at Portſmouth with gratitude. But ſuch was the inſolence of this convention, that they inſiſted upon unconditional ſubmiſſion to their demands, as a neceſſary preliminary to any intercourſe whatever. On which the deputation departed, after previouſly declaring, in firm language, "that the ſeamen were to expect no conceſſions whatever further than what had been already made by the legiſlature."

With the view of extorting compliance with their requiſitions, the mutineers now proceeded to block up the Thames, refuſing a free paſſage up and down the river to the London trade, ſupplying themſelves with water and proviſions from

from the ſhips which they detained. Meaſures were now alſo adopted on the part of government to enforce ſubmiſſion. All intercourſe with the ſhore was ſtrictly prohibited; batteries were erected with furnaces for red-hot balls; gun-boats prepared; and, what extremely perplexed the mutineers, all the buoys were removed from the mouth of the Thames. The council of delegates now began in ſome degree to relent, and lord Northeſk, captain of the Monmouth, who had been hitherto kept in confinement, was releaſed, with a meſſage from the preſident Parker to "the KING, wherever he might be," ſtating the ultimate conditions on which the ſhips would be given up. His lordſhip accompanying earl Spencer into the royal preſence, accordingly delivered his meſſage; and a privy-council being held upon the occaſion, the demands of the ſeamen were again reſolutely rejected. This being ſignified to the mutineers, ſymptoms of apprehenſion began to appear, and, on the 10th of June, ſeveral of the ſhips ſtruck the red flag and hoiſted the union; but no overtures were made to them. On the 13th, the Ajax, Standard, and Naſſau, ſeparating from the fleet, went under the protection of the guns at the fort of Sheerneſs. This excited deſpair in the remainder; and, on the ſame day, a reſolution was taken to ſubmit

mit to the king's mercy. Parker himſelf, who had in vain, and at too late a period, propoſed putting to ſea, ſurrendering quietly to a guard of ſoldiers, who had orders from admiral Buckner to put him under arreſt; and, with about thirty other delegates, he was accordingly committed to the *black-hole* in the garriſon of Sheerneſs. One of the delegates, Wallace, on the firſt appearance of the ſoldiers, in that ſpirit of heroic deſperation which might rather have been expected from preſident Parker, ſhot himſelf dead upon the ſpot. Parker being immediately brought to his trial before a court-martial, conſiſting of captains in the navy, was executed in a few days after on board the Sandwich. He died with reſolution, but diſcovered no indications, either during the continuance of the mutiny, or ſubſequent to its ſuppreſſion, of ſuperior parts or ſagacity. Had his talents been equal to his ſituation he might have made himſelf very formidable to the government. The court-martial continued ſitting more than a month, during which time great numbers were capitally convicted, very many of whom ſuffered the ſentence of death; and it was not till after a long interval that a general pardon was granted, burdened alſo with many exceptions.

On the 21ſt of March the earl of Moira made an

an important motion in the houſe of lords for an addreſs to his majeſty, "That he would be graciouſly pleaſed to interpoſe his paternal interference to remedy the diſcontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the moſt ſerious alarm for that country and the deareſt intereſts of Britain." His lordſhip acknowledged that the utmoſt care ought to be taken not to exceed the line of demarcation between the two legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland, and the utmoſt delicacy employed in the agitation of queſtions in which the privileges and independence of each other were involved. But he conceived the preſent motion to relate to a matter of common concern and mutual intereſt, upon which both countries had an equal right to ſtand forward. His lordſhip deprecated unprofitable diſputation;—the time was now come when the exertions of every honeſt man were neceſſary to ſave the ſtate from the calamities in which it was plunged. To prove the influence of the Britiſh cabinet over the councils of Ireland, if that could be a ſubject of doubt, he adverted to the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, at a period when all Ireland applauded the wiſdom of his meaſures—when that country afforded the faireſt proſpect of tranquillity, and offered the ſureſt pledge of aſſiſtance and ſupport to Britain. To the impolicy of that meaſure,

ſure, the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Ireland, his lordſhip ſaid, was undoubtedly to be imputed; and he urged the neceſſity of appeaſing the exiſting diſcontents of the country, and of adopting ſuch meaſures as would impreſs the people with confidence in the government.

Lord Grenville, in reply, pretended "that the preſent motion could not be adopted without tearing aſunder every bond of union, and breaking the ſolemn contract ſubſiſting between the two countries. He even ventured to deny the exiſtence of diſcontent and diſaffection to any conſiderable extent; but allowing that they actually prevailed, the benevolence of his majeſty's diſpoſition muſt be anxious to remove them. Inſtead of remedying diſcontents, the motion now offered to the houſe would inflame them, and induce the Iriſh to imagine their own legiſlature was careleſs of their welfare."

Lord Fitzwilliam ſaid "he never would concur with the noble ſecretary that this country ought not to give any opinion upon the public ſituation of Ireland. Such interference, for the purpoſe of averting evils from both, was proper, and the right was clear.—The people of Ireland were reported, alas! by the noble ſecretary, to be tranquil and happy. Why then were whole pariſhes, baronies, and even counties, declared to be out of the king's peace?

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Was this tranquillity? Was this happineſs? Was this a ſtate of things by which this country was in no danger of being affected? This was a period (his lordſhip ſaid) of awful portent. Storms and tempeſts impended over them, and it was their duty to exert every effort of human wiſdom to avert the danger which threatened the empire. And was it then beyond the proper ſphere of their lordſhips' conſideration to addreſs his majeſty to employ his paternal care in co-operation with, and giving effect to, theſe efforts and exertions."

The earl of Liverpool, late lord Hawkeſbury, and ſtill better known under the name of Charles Jenkinſon—who might almoſt be regarded as the evil genius of Britain perſonified—gave it as his opinion, "that the motion was improper, whether intended to induce them in their legiſlative capacity to interfere in the affairs of Ireland, or to adviſe his majeſty to exerciſe his executive authority in a particular way over that branch of the empire. Granting even, *for the ſake of argument*, that all the evils complained of really exiſted, ſtill he would contend they ought to be remedied by the Iriſh parliament, not by the Britiſh legiſlature, whoſe interference was calculated to aggravate, not remove, diſcontents. The motion was as miſchievous in its

its tendency as it was unconſtitutional in its principle."

The earl of Guildford obſerved, "that the argument of the ſecretary went not to protect the independence of the Iriſh parliament ſo much as to ſecure miniſters from reſponſibility. Neither the Britiſh cabinet, nor an Iriſh lord-lieutenant, were reſponſible to the Iriſh parliament: and if they were exempted alſo from the control of the Britiſh parliament, to whom were they reſponſible?"

The marquis of Lanſdown warned the miniſters "that they were proſecuting a ſyſtem in Ireland which would, in its conſequences, ſhake the Britiſh empire to its centre. If the grievances of Ireland had been redreſſed laſt year, the motion before the houſe would have been unneceſſary: if not redreſſed this, the breach muſt grow ſtill wider. Give the people of Ireland (ſaid this noble lord) their rights, and you will require neither fleets nor armies to protect them."—After a long and intereſting debate, the motion was negatived by a majority of 72 to 20 voices.

Two days ſubſequent to this debate, Mr. Fox brought forward, in the houſe of commons, an addreſs to the king, ſimilar to that of lord Moira, which he enforced in a ſpeech admired

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even by his enemies, and juſtly applauded by his friends, as a maſter-piece of eloquence and political wiſdom. Mr. Fox declared, "that the bulk of the Iriſh nation ſighed for the ſubſtantial bleſſing of a free conſtitution; and when he ſaw, as at the eve of the American conteſt, a government deſirous to decide by violence againſt the will of a majority, he clearly ſaw, as at that period, the danger of a civil war. He was the firſt perſon who pronounced the words 'American War' in that houſe; and the expreſſion was then ridiculed as abſurd and extravagant. Some would, no doubt, treat the idea of an Iriſh War with the ſame contempt; and he ſincerely wiſhed that he might not be found ſo true a prophet as in the former inſtance. Ireland was now in that ſtate where the executive power was every thing, and the rights of the people nothing; and in which it was neceſſary to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection by force. But was it poſſible to convince them by the bayonet that their principles were falſe, their pretenſions unjuſt? and was the exerciſe of martial law to prove to them their enjoyment of a free conſtitution? What muſt be the effect of ſuch meaſures? Would it not induce the moſt loyal to queſtion the excellence of that monarchical form of government under which they ſuffered ſuch calamities? When we wanted

wanted the aſſiſtance of the Catholics, was it politic to refuſe their demands? or would their ſubmiſſion to laws they deteſted laſt longer than our force and their impotency?—For myſelf (ſaid this great ſtateſman) I know of no way of governing mankind but by conciliating them. If Ireland is thus governed, will ſhe be leſs uſeful to Britain than at preſent, when, ſo far from adding to the ſtrength of the empire, ſhe occaſions a great and powerful diverſion from it? The conſequences of a war with her were dreadful to contemplate—Public horrors would be ſo much increaſed by the laceration of private feelings, as to ſpread univerſal miſery through both countries. Rigor had been already attempted;—let conciliation be tried before the laſt appeal is hazarded. Let the whole people of Ireland enjoy the ſame principles, the ſame ſyſtem, the ſame operation of government, and all claſſes an equal chance of emolument. The more Ireland feels the advantages of her connection with England, the more will ſhe be bound to Engliſh intereſts."—Mr. Fox touched next upon the removal of lord Fitzwilliam. He aſked thoſe who beſt knew the country, "whether the day of his departure was not a day of ſorrow? The Catholic petition was rejected; and the preſent diſtracted ſtate of Ireland had been produced by the hopes of the people being

being diſappointed, and by the cup of enjoyment and liberty having been ſuddenly daſhed from their lips." He concluded his ſpeech by moving an addreſs to his majeſty, "that he would be pleaſed to take into conſideration the diſturbed ſtate of Ireland, and to adopt ſuch lenient meaſures as might appear beſt calculated to reſtore tranquillity and conciliate affection."

The motion was ſeconded by ſir Francis Burdett, a young man of great perſonal and political rectitude of character, accompanied with high and lofty ſentiments of liberty, which time and experience only were wanting to mellow and mature. This gentleman, without heſitation, avowed his opinion, "that there was but one way of ſaving Ireland—of ſaving England; and that was by diveſting the preſent miniſter of the power he had ſo long and ſo fatally abuſed, and calling him to a ſtrict account at the tribunal of his country."

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion as improperly calculated to adviſe his majeſty to give effect to meaſures which, conſtitutionally, could originate only in the parliament of Ireland, the natural ſource of legiſlative arrangements in that country. He objected alſo to the meaſures meant to be recommended by the motion, and affirmed that farther conceſſions would be highly

imprudent on our part. By introducing Catholics into the legiſlative body, the acts of ſettlement, and the very exiſtence of the eſtabliſhed church in that kingdom, would be endangered; nor was it upon ſuch a foundation that he would build the future fabric of the peace of Ireland. To agree to any eſſential alteration of the preſent conſtitution of parliament, while ſuch principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in this country, would be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences."—The ſpeech of Mr. Pitt gave occaſion to a maſterly reply from Mr. Fox; at the cloſe of which he obſerved, "that he had been a long time deprecating coercive meaſures. He had deprecated the adoption of them againſt America in 1774: he deprecated them againſt France in 1792; and he now deprecated the ſame ſyſtem in Ireland. Though his advice had not been followed, it was a conſolation to him, individually, that it had not been withheld. Meaſures of coercion had proceeded from the ſame ſource. War had been preferred to negotiation, and force to conciliation; becauſe, inſtead of regulating our plans by a mild and enlightened policy, we had acted upon the maxims of barbarous times. And quoting the words of CICERO, he recommended the ſentiment inculcated in them to the ſerious conſideration

ration of every perſon to whom the important taſk of legiſlation was aſſigned. ‘ Carum eſſe civibus, bene de republicâ mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, glorioſum eſt: metui vero et in odio eſſe, invidiorum, deteſtabile, imbecillum, caducum.’—After a variety of ſpeeches on both ſides, the houſe divided; for the motion 84, againſt it 220—a majority proportionably leſs than uſual.

In the courſe of the ſpring many popular meetings were held agreeably to the reſtrictions of the new act, and ſome faint hopes were excited that the ſpirit of the people would be at length rouzed to ſomething like national exertion. The object of theſe meetings was to petition the king for the removal of miniſters. That from the city of Weſtminſter was remarkably full and ſtrong, and attracted much attention. It commenced by ſtating the uncontrovertible facts, “ that in the four years’ proſecution of the preſent war miniſters had ſquandered upwards of 130 millions of money, and had impoſed taxes to the amount of ſix millions and a half annually.” The petition then proceeds in the following terms:—“ We humbly repreſent to your majeſty, that in the hands of thoſe miniſters nothing has ſucceeded. Inſtead of reſtoring monarchy in France, they have been compelled to recognize the republic there eſta-

bliſhed, and to offer propoſals of peace to it. Inſtead of diſmembering the territories of that republic, they have ſuffered it to add to them the Netherlands, Holland, and great part of Italy and Germany: and even a part of theſe kingdoms, which the fleets of that republic have inſulted, has only been preſerved from the calamities of an invaſion by the accidents of the ſeaſons.

" In their negotiations for peace they have been equally unſucceſsful. It was to be expected. When they aſked peace they were abject, but not ſincere; they acknowledged their impotence, but not their errors. They diſcovered the moſt hoſtile diſpoſitions towards France at the very time they proved their utter inability to contend with her.

" When they wanted to obtain our conſent to the war, they aſſured us that it was neceſſary for the ſafety of our commerce. At this moment moſt of the ports of Europe are ſhut againſt us; goods to an immenſe amount are lying upon the hands of our merchants, and the manufacturing poor are ſtarving by thouſands.

" They aſſured us the war was neceſſary for the preſervation of property and public credit. They have rendered every man's property ſubject to an order of the privy-council, and the Bank of England has ſtopped payment.

" They

"They assured us that the war was necessary for the preservation of the constitution. They have destroyed its best part, which is its liberty, by oppressive restrictions upon the right of petitioning, and upon the freedom of the press; by prosecuting innocent men under false pretences; by sending money to foreign princes without the consent of parliament; while, by erecting barracks throughout the kingdom, they give us reason to suspect their intention of finally subjecting the people to military despotism.

"They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of the unity of our empire. But they have so conducted, and are still so conducting, themselves in Ireland, as to alienate the affections of that brave, loyal, but oppressed and persecuted nation, and to expose the most flourishing of its provinces to all the horrors of lawless military violence.

"These are no common errors; they are great crimes; and of these crimes, before God and our country, we accuse your ministers.—They have tarnished the national honor and glory; they have oppressed the poor with almost intolerable burdens; they have poisoned the intercourse of private life; they have given a fatal blow to public credit; they have divided the

empire, and they have ſubverted the conſtitution."

Theſe petitions encouraged the members of oppoſition in both houſes to bring forward motions of the ſame tenor and purport. On the 27th of March the earl of Suffolk, after premiſing a few general obſervations on the alarming ſituation of public affairs, and on the character of the firſt miniſter, Mr. Pitt, whom he ſtigmatized as incapable in every reſpect, except in the arts of deceiving,—declared "that he conſidered it as a duty which he owed to himſelf, his king, and his country, to move, that an addreſs might be preſented to his majeſty, humbly requeſting him to diſmiſs from his councils his miniſter, the firſt lord of the Treaſury, whoſe pernicious meaſures had deprived him of the confidence of the country."—Lord Grenville warmly vindicated the character of his friend, Mr. Pitt, "the failure of any of whoſe meaſures, he was certain, could be juſtly attributed only to thoſe errors to which human nature was at all times liable—to thoſe accidents which no human wiſdom could prevent, or to thoſe diſpenſations of Providence which no human power could control; and he complained that the charges againſt him were not ſubſtantiated by proofs."—The duke of Norfolk,

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in reply remarked, " that the proofs were everywhere; they preſented themſelves to every eye, they made impreſſions upon every heart, they compoſed a living epitaph upon the infatuation of miniſters—*ſi monumentum quæris circumſpice.*"—The earl of Moira thought the preſent motion highly neceſſary. " The miſmanagement of miniſters had brought us to the diſaſtrous ſituation we were in, and they could not too ſoon be deprived of the power they had ſo groſsly abuſed." —The marquis of Lanſdown, in anſwer to lord Grenville, who had boaſted that the country had been preſerved from Jacobinical principles by the laudable exertions of his majeſty's miniſters, ſaid, " that he believed there were very few perſons of thoſe principles in this kingdom; and that he knew of no ſuch practical Jacobins as the miniſters themſelves. They had baniſhed gold and ſilver from circulation; they had taken up the paper ſyſtem at the time France had laid it down; they had recourſe to arbitrary meaſures, military force, and pretended plots, with every article of Jacobiniſm as it had been previouſly practiſed in France: It was the virtuous juries of 1794 which defeated the Robeſpierrian ſyſtem attempted to be eſtabliſhed in this country by his majeſty's miniſters."—The motion was finally rejected by a majority of 86 to 16 voices.

On the 19th of May the ſubject was brought forward in the lower houſe by Mr. Alderman Combe, one of the repreſentatives for the city of London, who prefaced his motion for an addreſs to the king, beſeeching him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters, with ſome very ſeaſonable and appoſite remarks. "By miniſters (he ſaid) the war had been frequently declared both juſt and neceſſary. In both theſe points he had always differed from them. But from the authors and approvers of the war it was at leaſt to be expected that they ſhould point out ſome fixed and ſettled principle by which it was intended to be guided, and ſome object at which it aimed. On the contrary, we were ſometimes ſaid to be fighting for one purpoſe, and ſometimes for another, and were ſtill left at all times equally in the dark. The decree of November, and the opening of the Scheld, were in 1793 the oſtenſible cauſes of the war. In 1794 it was the reſtoration of the conſtitutional monarchy. In 1795, indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future. In 1796, the re-eſtabliſhment of ſocial order, and the relations of peace and amity: Laſtly, the *ſine qua non* of lord Malmeſbury. It was now ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe, whether the preſent miniſters, who had ſo raſhly precipitated the country into the war, and had manifeſted ſuch incapacity

incapacity in the conduct of it, were likely to be more ſucceſsful in obtaining that deſirable bleſſing—tranquillity? He was perfectly of opinion with his conſtituents, that they were not: it required men of greater minds, and more upright intentions, to bring about this object."—Mr. Curwen avowed his belief "that the preſent miniſters neither would, nor perhaps could, make peace for this country; and, as the ſituation of the country rendered the ſpeedy reſtoration of that bleſſing abſolutely neceſſary, he felt it his duty to ſupport the motion."—The miniſters, Pitt, Dundas, and Windham, who deemed it perhaps decorous not to take part in this debate, were defended by alderman Luſhington, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Dent, Mr. Pierrepoint, Mr. Burdon, &c.—and the motion was negatived by a vaſt majority of 242 to 59 voices.

On the 26th of May Mr. Grey made his final motion relative to a reform in parliament, which he had ſo frequently, at different times, and in various modes, brought under public and parliamentary diſcuſſion. This able and zealous advocate of reform in general had not, however, yet attempted that great deſideratum,—a ſpecific plan of reform at once rational, feaſible, and beneficial. Such was the object of the propoſition now ſubmitted to the candor and judgment of the houſe. Mr. Grey ſolemnly affirmed "that

" that he fought not to alter any part of the conſtitution, but merely to obtain for the people a full, fair, and free repreſentation in parliament, to which they were incontrovertibly entitled. He propoſed that the county repreſentation ſhould continue upon the ſame footing, only that the number of county members ſhould be increaſed from 92 to 113; the addition to be made to the larger counties in proportion to their population. In order to put an end to compromiſes, counties ſhould be divided into diſtricts, each of which ſhould return one repreſentative: the right of elective franchiſe to be extended to copyholders and leaſeholders: The remaining 400 members to be returned by one deſcription of perſons, viz. HOUSEHOLDERS: The poll to be taken throughout the kingdom at one time; and the ſame perſon not to be permitted to vote for more than one member: The duration of parliament to be limited to three years. Upon this plan (Mr. Grey ſaid) the members would hold their ſeats, not indeed on the baſis of univerſal ſuffrage, but of univerſal repreſentation. The qualification would be ſo fixed, that no man, however mean, might not hope, by honeſt induſtry and fair exertions, to raiſe himſelf to this diſtinction." The motion of Mr. Grey was ſeconded in an elaborate and eloquent ſpeech by Mr. Erſkine, who

who reverted to thoſe better days when the liberties of the country were eſtabliſhed by the exerciſe of the conſtitutional powers of that houſe. "We could recollect with pride and triumph the glorious exertions of our forefathers within thoſe walls, when tyranny, century after century, was combated and defeated, and the freedom of Engliſhmen was aſſerted and confirmed. The only cure for the evils of government was to make the houſe of commons what it had been in the days of our anceſtors, when it preſerved the liberties of the people, and was crowned with their love and veneration."

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion upon preciſely the ſame grounds on which his own propoſitions on the ſame ſubject had been formerly conteſted. "Was it not better (he aſked) to endure ſome inconvenience, rather than hazard the annihilation of a ſyſtem under which this country had flouriſhed in proſperity, had been ſupported in adverſity, and acquired energy and vigor to recover from the diſtreſſes which it had endured? It had never (he ſaid) been contended, that the inequality of the repreſentation had been attended with any practical diſadvantage; that the intereſt of Yorkſhire had been neglected becauſe it ſent only two members to parliament; or that Birmingham or Mancheſter experienced any ill conſequences from

from having no repreſentatives. The propoſition now ſtated was new, extenſive,—overturning all the antient ſyſtem without ſubſtituting any real benefit. On what experience, on what practice, was it to be introduced? Were we to renounce the benefits of a tried ſyſtem for a theory which had no example in its favor? After all, this plan would be far from ſatisfying the ſpeculative and democratic partizans of reform without doors. Men who could treat parliament as uſurpation, and monarchy as an invaſion, of the rights of man, would reject with ſcorn any propoſitions which did not include a recognition of their rights; and which they would regard as vitiated, if conveyed in any other ſhape." Mr. Pitt, in concluſion, avowed his total diſapprobation of the plan propoſed, and gave his decided negative to the motion.

Mr. Fox, at the cloſe of the debate, roſe in defence of the motion; and recalled to Mr. Pitt's recollection the words uſed by him on bringing forward his own original motion of reform in 1782.—" ' Without a reform in parliament the nation cannot be ſafe. This war may be ended, but what will protect us againſt another? As certainly as the ſpirit which engendered the preſent actuates the ſecret councils of the crown, we ſhall, under the influence of a defective repreſentation, be involved in new

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wars and ſimilar calamities.' This was the right honorable gentleman's propheſy, and it has been fully accompliſhed. Another war did take place, equal in diſaſter, and at leaſt equal in diſgrace! It ſeems as if his whole life from that period had been deſtined for the illuſtration of the warning. It was remarkable (Mr. Fox obſerved) that every prediction hazarded by Mr. Pitt, during the courſe of the preſent war, had failed; every hope, every expectation, every promiſe, had proved fallacious; yet parliament continued to confide in him: and the only one of his predictions which was entitled to regard, the only one which had been verified in the reſult, was that which had been unfortunately ſlighted and neglected.—Mr. Fox appealed to the houſe, whether they were the faithful organs of the public will? Can we (ſaid he) review the adminiſtration of the right honorable gentleman without being convinced that the preſent repreſentation is a ſhadow and a mockery? Miniſters had affirmed the popularity of the preſent war; the ſame had been ſaid of the war with America; nor would he deny that, through the artful machinations of miniſters, a clamor had been raiſed, which they called the voice of the nation:—but whatever had been the caſe in the outſet of both, the progreſs in the public opinion had been the

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ſame in each. It had indiſputably changed, though the voice of the people had not been heard in the choice of repreſentatives. Had the repreſentative ſyſtem been perfect, or its practice pure, the new parliament would decidedly have voted againſt the continuance of the war. —With reſpect to the ſpecific propoſition before the houſe, Mr. Fox thought the beſt and moſt adviſable plan of reform was to extend the right of election to houſeholders: it was the moſt perfect recurrence to the firſt-known and recorded principles in our conſtitution, according to the celebrated Glanville, in all caſes where no particular right intervened; and he wiſhed it to be diſcuſſed in a committee, in hopes that the united wiſdom of the houſe might improve the preſent outline into a ſyſtem generally beneficial and acceptable.—In concluſion, Mr. Fox expreſſed his aſſurance that the nation, by adopting wiſe and temperate meaſures of reform, that the monarchy and the people, might yet be ſaved. Let thoſe miniſters who have plunged us into our preſent ſtate retire from the poſt to which they are unequal. A new adminiſtration, compoſed of men who poſſeſſed the talents of conciliation muſt be formed; but of this new adminiſtration Mr. Fox ſolemnly proteſted that he had no wiſh to make a part. Ambition was dead within him.

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He fought only the ſalvation of the country, and his deſire, as to himſelf, was henceforth RETIREMENT."—The queſtion being put, after long debate, the houſe divided; for the motion 63, againſt it 258 voices.

On the 30th of May the duke of Bedford roſe, in purſuance of notice given, to move an addreſs to the throne, humbly beſeeching his majeſty to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils for ever. This addreſs was ſupported by the noble mover in a very able and comprehenſive ſpeech. Recapitulating the errors of the preſent adminiſtration in all its relations, foreign and domeſtic, and ſtating the evils actually produced, and the ſtill greater to be apprehended from them, his grace ſolemnly appealed to the houſe, "whether they would ſuffer the country to be devoted to utter deſtruction? Will you (he exclaimed) leave its affairs to men who have already involved you in complicated calamities? I intreat your lordſhips to reflect upon our ſituation as a nation, and that you would deviſe ſome means of avoiding the complete ruin with which we are threatened."—The motion was powerfully ſeconded by the duke of Grafton. This nobleman, whoſe age, character, and long experience in affairs, commanded the reſpect and attention of the houſe, obſerved "that there were not

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wanting thoſe who attributed to chance, the chance of war, all the misfortunes which had befallen us; but he aſcribed them to the uniform folly and raſhneſs of miniſters, as their real, ſole, and obvious cauſe. This chain of diſaſters (ſaid his grace) could no more have fallen out by chance than the globe we walk on could have been produced by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms. For himſelf, he proteſted before God and his country, that, ſo far from abetting the pernicious counſels which were bringing on the downfall of the empire, he had endeavoured to the utmoſt, by every conſtitutional means, to avert them. If the preſent motion were received with the ſame cold indifference which had been hitherto ſhewn, and if the ſame confidence was continued to the ſame miniſters, he ſhould not think it neceſſary to trouble the houſe with his remarks again. But before he retired, to fortify his own mind againſt the calamities he ſaw approaching, he conceived it to be a duty incumbent upon him to lay before his ſovereign, in perſon, the reaſons of his conduct, flattering himſelf that he ſhould experience the ſame gracious and attentive hearing which his majeſty had ever vouchſafed to one who had always ſpoken the unbiaſſed and genuine dictates of his heart."

The earls of Guildford and Suffolk, the marquis

quis of Lanſdown, and the earl of Moira, all ſucceſſively ſpoke with vigor and ability in favor of the motion, and made every effort to impreſs the houſe with the conviction, that to give any further countenance to the preſent ſyſtem, a ſyſtem fraught with miſchief and ruin, would be involving themſelves in the guilt of it. The duke of Athol, lord Romney, lord Spencer, &c. defended the meaſures of adminiſtration: and lord Grenville, finding all other arguments fail, touched again the maſter-chord, which never failed, even in the moſt unſkilful hands, to awaken the paſſions of the houſe. He claimed for the preſent miniſters, whatever might be their faults or failings, the tranſcendent merit of having preſerved the country from that anarchy to which he affirmed the language and general conduct of the oppoſition tended. A reform of parliament was their grand ſpecific for all grievances; but to this meaſure he had invariably objected, as conceiving it to amount to a complete alteration of the conſtitution. "The plan lately propoſed (his lordſhip ſaid) went to pluck up by the roots every right planted by the conſtitution; and if the flood-gates were once opened to innovation, the torrent of anarchy would ſpread ſo forcibly and ſo wide, that it would not be in the power of their lordſhips, by oppoſing their feeble hands as a barrier to

deſtruction, to prevent the conſtitution from being overwhelmed in ruin. And he declared his belief, that the *object* of the motion was to promote, not a change of miniſters, but a revolution in the country."—The duke of Leeds, who uſually voted with adminiſtration, after expreſſing his diſapprobation of a parliamentary reform, remarked "that the noble ſecretary had made the conſtitution depend as it were upon the continuance of the preſent miniſters in office, which was rather too much to concede. Though he would not aſſert that theſe miniſters were intentionally wicked, he could not help conſidering them as peculiarly unfortunate."—After a ſpeech from the lord-chancellor, enforcing the arguments of lord Grenville, the houſe divided; for the motion 12, againſt it 65.

The revolution of France was an event ſo great, and the immediate conſequences of it proved ſo diſaſtrous, that it could ſcarcely be for a moment baniſhed from the minds of any in diſcuſſing the ſubject of political and national reform. Two grand and directly oppoſite concluſions were deducible, and, by different perſons, were actually deduced from it. *Firſt*, The adverſaries and enemies of reform inferred the danger of all innovations, and deprecated even the diſcuſſion of any topics of this nature, from the extenſive and inaſcertainable conſequences attending

attending the moſt temperate and well-intentioned deſigns of alteration and improvement. This was at all times a prevailing ſentiment with thoſe who had little to hope and much to fear—with perſons of high rank, great property, and more eſpecially with thoſe who derived advantage and emolument from the very abuſes which were the prominent objects of reform. But the late events in France had ſo heightened and extended this dread of innovation as ſtrongly to affect the majority of the middle claſſes, and even for a time of the vulgar, who are naturally the friends of innovation, as having more to hope than to fear from the conſequences of a change. *Secondly*, The advocates of political reformation reaſoned, *toto cælo*, differently; and inferred the utility and neceſſity of it from the calamities and diſaſters of the French revolution itſelf. For had timely and ſeaſonable reforms been made by the French government, while it yet poſſeſſed the power of reforming, no revolution would have happened. But, on the contrary, the government there reſiſted to the utmoſt every effort to correct even the groſſeſt abuſes; and nothing was effected but in oppoſition, and as it were, defiance, of the government, which, by this means, gradually loſt its influence and its energy. The paſſions of the people were rouzed by continual contention; and the tor-

rent of innovation, breaking down all the dams and mounds of law and cuſtom, carried every thing before it, and the government and people were involved in one common ruin. But how different would have been the caſe had the government of England taken the buſineſs of reform into its own hands! The miſchiefs in France were occaſioned by the jealouſy and diſtruſt, or rather the open animoſity and hoſtility, ſubſiſting between the conſtituted authorities—the king and the National Aſſembly. But in Great Britain, had the king and parliament united in carrying into effect a general reform upon temperate and liberal principles, ſuch as were calculated for practical advantage, who could have entertained the remoteſt idea of a ſuperior control? Even thoſe who laid moſt ſtreſs upon abſtract ſpeculations of right, but who certainly never expected them to be acted upon in their full extent, would have acquieſced with cheerful and grateful hearts; and the clamors of the few, if any ſuch there were, who really wiſhed to involve the nation in confuſion, would have been loſt in the acclamations of the many who muſt have abhorred the idea. "Conſider ſeriouſly (ſays Mr. Burke in his admired ſpeech on œconomical reform) the wiſdom of timely reformation. Early reforms are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformations

formations are impoſed upon a conquered enemy. Under a ſtate of inflammation, the people ſee the abuſe, and they will ſee nothing elſe."

If, in addition to theſe neceſſary and ſober domeſtic reforms, the executive government had acted with caution and moderation abroad, had anxiouſly avoided making itſelf a party in the continental quarrels; if, on the contrary, England had endeavoured, with generous frankneſs and good faith, by amicable interpoſition, to accommodate thoſe quarrels, and to mediate between the contending powers; if, in a word, ſhe had reſolutely adopted and perſiſted in a ſyſtem of mildneſs, œconomy, and good-will to all, and had embraced the favorable opportunities which peace would no doubt have afforded of increaſing the amount, and adding to the energy of the too inadequate fund ſet apart for the liquidation of the public debt; it is impoſſible to conjecture to what heights of felicity and glory the nation might in a few years have attained. The difficulties of the American war, after a tranquil interval of ten years, had been in a great degree ſurmounted; and Mr. Pitt was able, on a memorable occaſion, a few months preceding the war with France, to draw an exquiſite and glowing picture of public proſperity, which time was about to realize, when he himſelf, with unhallowed hand, tore the canvas,

and, exulting in his political phrenzy, committed it to the rage and fury of the winds.

As to the particular mode in which national reform, ſo deſirable in itſelf, and ſo earneſtly deſired by many, ought to be conducted—it is ſufficient to ſay, that, like every other important undertaking, it muſt, in order to be ultimately ſucceſsful in its operation, be conducted in the ſpirit of wiſdom. "The public (ſays a man of talents, who has been unjuſtly ſtigmatized as a favorer of violent reform, Mr. Horne Tooke) ought never to receive a benefit at the expenſe of an individual." Reforms ought, therefore, to be in a great meaſure proſpective, and, as far as the influence of them is felt at all, it ſhould be felt as beneficial. Reforms merely ſpeculative are to be avoided; as all theories are deluſive, if not dangerous, which do not tend to practical advantage. Above all, it will be the conſtant care of a wiſe government to enlighten the people on the ſubject of their duties and their rights—infuſing into their minds, by gentle and rational means, juſt ideas of government—encouraging and patronizing thoſe writers whoſe works are calculated to enlarge the ſphere of the human underſtanding, and to enforce a willing obedience, upon juſt and equitable principles; ſo that government may neither exact too much, nor the people yield too little.

little. Who can eſtimate the value of ſuch writings as thoſe of Locke, Hoadley, and Addiſon, in this view, both to the government and to the community of a country?—"To ſay that a blind cuſtom of obedience (to quote the language of one of the greateſt of mankind, lord Bacon) ſhould be a ſurer obligation than duty taught and underſtood, it is to affirm that a blind man may tread ſurer by a guide than a ſeeing man can with ſight *."

Towards the end of the ſeſſion a bill was introduced into the houſe of commons, by Mr. Dundas, for raiſing and embodying a militia in Scotland; which was ſoon after paſſed into a law, found by experience exceedingly obnoxious to the people of Scotland; the method of ballot and the principle of compulſion being equally disliked on the north as on the ſouth ſide of the Tweed. But obedience was finally enforced, as formerly in England, by the irreſiſtible argument of the muſquet and bayonet.

On the 20th of July, 1797, the parliamentary ſeſſion was concluded in the uſual manner by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty intimated to the two houſes "that he was again engaged in a negotiation for peace, which no-

* "Advancement of Learning," Book I.

thing ſhould be wanting on his part to bring to a ſucceſsful termination, on ſuch conditions as were conſiſtent with the ſecurity, honor, and eſſential intereſts of his dominions."

At this period an extreme diſſatisfaction prevailed throughout the nation from the general ſenſe entertained of the incapacity of the preſent miniſters, either as miniſters of peace or war; and a great number of the moſt reſpectable and independent members of the houſe, who had uſually voted with Mr. Pitt, held conſultations with each other reſpecting the formation of a new adminiſtration, of which it was intended that the earl of Moira ſhould be the head; for the majority of the aſſociated members were, in a greater or leſs degree, *alarmiſts*, and conceived that Mr. Fox, for whom they profeſſed a high perſonal admiration and regard, had pledged himſelf farther than they could, in conſiſtency with their own views and principles, follow him, in the cauſe of political and parliamentary reform. It was underſtood that the prince of Wales favored and patronized the deſigns now in agitation—the earl of Moira being known to poſſeſs the entire confidence of that great perſonage.

Previous to the ſummer receſs, ſome perſons of the higheſt reſpectability and eminence ſeverally

verally demanded audiences of the king, amongſt whom were the duke of Grafton and Mr. Fox. The former of theſe had once enjoyed a large ſhare of the king's favor, and ſtill held a diſtinguiſhed place in his eſteem. The object of this nobleman, as of others high in rank and reputation, who conceived themſelves under an indiſpenſable obligation of duty to ſtate their ſentiments at this criſis to his majeſty in perſon, was, according to public opinion and report, reſpectfully, though unreſervedly, to repreſent to their ſovereign the pernicious nature and ruinous conſequences of the preſent ſyſtem, and the abſolute neceſſity of ſome alteration in it, in order to avoid the impending danger. The magnanimous mind of Mr. Fox was impelled by an additional motive; and conceiving himſelf and his counſels to be unacceptable to the monarch, he thought it becoming his character, conformably to his recent intimation in parliament, to impart to his majeſty his intention of retiring from public life, that he might not be conſidered as an impediment to the projected change. It was imagined by many, that, at this criſis, the miniſters themſelves wavered in their reſolution, and would have acceded, with no violent oppoſition on their part, to the new ſyſtem. But as, on the one hand, the king ſhewed a moſt inflexible determination to ſupport

port the preſent men and the preſent meaſures, —ſo, on the other, the parliamentary adherents of Mr. Fox, men conſpicuous for talents and reputation, and without whoſe concurrence the new adminiſtration could not be formed, reſolved unanimouſly to take no active part in any arrangement of which Mr. Fox was not the political head; ſo that this well-intentioned effort proved altogether unavailing *.

The military tranſactions of this year were peculiarly intereſting. The unfortunate reſult of the invaſion of Germany by the generals Jourdain and Moreau during the former campaign, and the extraordinary ſucceſs which had attended the exertions of general Buonaparte in Italy, led the French government to bend almoſt their whole attention to this quarter, and the war upon the Rhine appeared to be in

* From this period the duke of Grafton returned to the enjoyment of that retired and rural life in which he had found ſo much more ſatisfaction than in the higheſt attainments of ambition. Nothing leſs indeed than the urgent call of public duty, as was perfectly well known to his friends, could have induced this highly reſpected nobleman to have quitted thoſe peaceful and happy ſhades,

"Where ſmiling Euſton boaſts her good Fitzroy;
Lord of pure alms, and gifts that wide extend,—
The farmer's patron, and the poor man's friend."

Vide the ſingularly beautiful and extraordinary production of natural taſte and genius recently publiſhed under the appropriate title of The FARMER's BOY.

a man-

a manner ſuſpended.—Although nothing but a ſeries of misfortunes had been experienced by the Imperial generals in their repeated attempts to defend the Italian poſſeſſions of the emperor their ſovereign, the power of the houſe of Auſtria diſplayed itſelf very conſpicuouſly in the ſpeedy reparation of their loſſes; and the armies exterminated, ſeemed, like the heads of the Hydra, to be inſtantly ſupplied by others. After the battle of Arcole, new levies were made throughout the hereditary ſtates, and vaſt reinforcements ſent with ſuch expedition to general Alvinzi, that he was able to take the field once more in great force early in the month of January (1797). Paſſing the Brenta, he advanced to the Adige; and, carrying by aſſault the important poſt of Corona, compelled the French to fall back to Rivoli. General Buonaparte, who had been for ſome time paſt at Bologna, was no ſooner apprized of this new and unexpected irruption, than he reſumed in perſon the command of his army, now ſtrengthened by reinforcements, and immediately changed general Joubert's plan of defence into an attack.

On the ſucceeding day (January 14) a general engagement took place, in which prodigious diſplays of ſkill and valor were exhibited by the combatants on each ſide. Towards the

cloſe

cloſe of the day, the Auſtrians, who were much ſuperior in number, appeared to have decidedly the advantage,—the main body of the French being driven into their entrenchments, and the two wings completely diſordered. General Buonaparte, perceiving the perilous nature of his ſituation, determined upon one final effort, and ordered a numerous column from the right wing of the Auſtrians, which had taken a commanding poſition upon the heights behind Rivoli, in the rear of the French, from the Adige to the Lake of Guarda, to be attacked by a body of choſen troops with fixed bayonets. This ſervice was moſt effectually performed: the Auſtrians, who had ſuppoſed the battle gained, fled panic-ſtruck towards the lake, and great part of the column ſurrendered almoſt without reſiſtance. This, however, was, on the part of the French, rather an eſcape than a victory. Two hours before day-break, on the 15th of January, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury. After a gallant reſiſtance, the main body of the Auſtrian army was diſlodged from their poſition; and the left wing, poſted on the Heights of St. Marco, being ſurrounded, were either killed or taken priſoners.—This was not the only diſaſter ſuſtained by the Auſtrians. General Provera, at the head of a column of ten thouſand men, compoſed chiefly of volunteers,

many

many of them of the beſt families of Vienna, who had received from the empreſs a ſort of conſecrated ſtandard, worked with her own hands, marched, with all the chivalrous feelings of the antient cruſades, to the relief of Mantua, expecting a powerful co-operation from general Wurmſer, who had previous notice of their intention. An attack was accordingly made by that brave veteran, with the whole force of his garriſon, on the poſt of La Favorita, while Provera attempted that of St. George; but in both inſtances without ſucceſs: and after the defeat of Alvinzi at Rivoli, general Buonaparte was enabled to detach large bodies of troops, which, ſurrounding Provera, and ſecuring the paſſes on all ſides, at length, after a brave reſiſtance, compelled the Auſtrian general to ſurrender, with his remaining forces, at diſcretion: So that, ſince the commencement of the new year, the French boaſted to have taken no leſs than 25,000 priſoners and 60 pieces of cannon; and the fourth Auſtrian army ſent to Italy, in the ſpace of a few months, was entirely broken.—The garriſon of Mantua having now loſt every hope of ſuccour, and reduced to extremity by diſeaſe and famine, at length capitulated on honorable terms; and that almoſt impregnable fortreſs, upon which little impreſſion had been made by the arms of the beſiegers, ſubmitted

ſubmitted to the republican, though ſhe had for centuries reſiſted the monarchical, power of France. Subſequent to the fatal battle of Rivoli, the ſhattered remains of the Auſtrians had repaſſed, with precipitation, the rivers Adige and Brenta; and part of the left diviſion retreated through Roveredo to Trent, of which the French, under general Joubert, took peaceable poſſeſſion.

The late meaſures of the court of Rome ſeemed to indicate that the aged pontiff was bent upon his own deſtruction. Inſtead of obſerving an exact neutrality between the belligerent powers, or offering, in the ſpirit of Chriſtian catholiciſm, to interpoſe his paternal and healing mediation, he ſeemed actuated by a ſettled rage againſt the French republic, equally furious and impotent. Count Manfredini, firſt miniſter of the grand-duke of Tuſcany, had apprized cardinal Buſca, ſecretary to his holineſs, that general Buonaparte was far from wiſhing to co-operate in the deſtruction of the papal ſee; that he acknowledged ſome of the articles of the armiſtice to be ſuch as his holineſs might juſtly regard as inadmiſſible; and that he was diſpoſed to render them more favorable: but the pope, moſt abſurdly confident in his own reſources, and proud of the Imperial alliance, treated theſe indirect overtures with neglect or

contempt,

contempt, and made great warlike preparations throughout his dominions, to ſecond the efforts of general Alvinzi previous to the battle of Arcole,—the event of which, with the ſucceeding defeat at Rivoli, left the Roman pontiff at the mercy of his enemies.

On the 1ſt of February, 1797, general Buonaparte publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the violation of the armiſtice by the pope, charging his holineſs with refuſing to liſten to the pacific overtures of the republic; with having entered into hoſtile negotiations with the court of Vienna; with having put his troops in motion, and entruſting the command of them to Auſtrian officers;—and, depending probably upon the known puſillanimity of the inhabitants of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, the manifeſto concluded with dreadful denunciations of vengeance againſt thoſe who offered any reſiſtance to the march of the republicans.

The papal army lay ſtrongly entrenched on the banks of the Senio, where they were attacked by the diviſion of general Victor on the ſecond of the ſame month. The encounter, though ſhort, was ſharp. During the engagement ſeveral prieſts, with crucifixes in their hands, animated, by their exhortations, the Roman troops: but they were unable to ſtand the ſhock of the bayonet, and were driven from their

their entrenchments with the loſs of fifteen hundred men and fourteen pieces of cannon—that of the French amounting to no more than forty killed and wounded. General Buonaparte, now taking the command in perſon, advanced to Faenza, the gates of which were ſhut againſt him. The place was immediately carried by aſſault; but no pillage or plunder was allowed. This had an happy effect. In a few days the Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the whole marche of Ancona, ſubmitted to the French. In the town of Ancona was found a large magazine of arms and ammunition, including a fine train of artillery, which had juſt been ſent to the pope from the emperor. A diviſion of the republican army alſo proceeded to Loretto, whence the greater part of the treaſure had been previouſly removed. The remains of that coſtly but abſurd and uſeleſs collection of wealth, the contributions of ſuperſtition and folly, were however, without any remorſe of conſcience, ſecured; the myſteries of the ſacred chapel, and the miraculous houſe, or *ſancta caſa*, with all the religious trumpery which they contained, were expoſed to vulgar gaze; and the celebrated Madona, or image of the Virgin, ſo long the object of awe and adoration, was packed up in a caſe, with the relics of her wardrobe and furniture, conſiſting of rags of coarſe

coarſe woollen cloth, earthen ſpoons, &c. and ſent as trophies to the Directory.

General Colli, who, with the papal army, had been poſted near Ancona, retreated with precipitation at the approach of the French; and, no-where attempting to make a ſtand, the republicans proceeded, without any obſtacle, through Macera to Tolentino, within a few days' march of Rome; when general Buonaparte received a letter written by the pope in his own hand, and conceived in the following terms:—

" Dear Son, " Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.

" Deſirous of terminating, in an amicable manner, our actual differences with the French republic, by the withdrawing the troops which you command, we ſend and depute towards you, as our plenipotentiaries, two eccleſiaſtics, —the cardinal Mattei, who is perfectly known to you, and his lordſhip of Galeppi; together with two ſeculars, the duke Don Lewis Braſchi, our nephew, and the marquis Camilli Maſſini; who are clothed with our full powers to concert with you, to promiſe and ſubſcribe ſuch conditions as we hope ſhall be juſt and reaſonable; obliging ourſelves, on our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in ſpecial form, in order that they may at all times be valid and inviolable. Secure in the ſentiments of good

will which you have manifeſted towards us, we have abſtained from all removal from Rome, by which you will be perſuaded of our great confidence in you. We conclude with aſſuring you of our higheſt eſteem, and in giving you our paternal apoſtolic benediction.—Given at St. Peter's of Rome, Feb. 12, 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate. "PIUS."

In conſequence of this letter a treaty of peace was immediately ſigned at Tolentino, on terms more tolerable than could well be expected, conſidering the relative ſituation of both parties. The pope conſented to withdraw every *adheſion*, &c. given by him to the powers coaleſced againſt France; to ſuffer no ſhips of war or privateers belonging to the enemy to enter his ports; to renounce all right to Avignon and the Venaiſſin, and alſo to the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; and the French to poſſeſs all the immunities of the moſt favored nation. His holineſs alſo agreed to pay thirty millions of livres, as the price of peace, within two months; and all the manuſcripts, pictures, ſtatues, &c. ſtipulated for at the period of the armiſtice, to be immediately delivered: likewiſe to ſet at liberty all who were confined in Rome on account of their political opinions; and the city and citadel of Ancona to remain

main in poſſeſſion of the French till a general peace.

On ſigning the articles, general Buonaparte wrote a polite anſwer to the pope's letter, in which he aſſured his holineſs of the eſteem and perfect veneration he had for his perſon; hoping that the French republic would approve itſelf one of the trueſt friends of Rome."

In the progreſs of his march, general Buonaparte, finding himſelf near the celebrated mountain which comprizes the whole territory of the ancient republic of St. Marino, was ſeized with the noble enthuſiaſm of diſplaying in the moſt flattering and conſpicuous manner the reſpect which was due to this genuine remnant of the ſons of freedom. The ambaſſador Monge, deputed by the French general, told the chiefs of this obſcure but happy community, that he came in the name of the French people to aſſure the ancient republic of St. Marino of their inviolable friendſhip. He entered into a conciſe hiſtory of the principal events of the revolution, and ſignified the glorious ſucceſs with which their efforts had been crowned. After complimenting them for the aſylum afforded to liberty within their walls, during the centuries when it ſeemed baniſhed from the reſt of Europe, the ambaſſador intimated, that if it was the wiſh of the government of St. Marino to

enlarge the limits of their territory, the French republic would gladly embrace the occaſion to give them the moſt ſolid proofs of their good will. The reply of this ſmall but virtuous and unambitious ſtate was ſuch as to afford a leſſon both of political and moral wiſdom to all the nations of Chriſtendom.—"We place, (ſaid they) citizen ambaſſador, in the number of the moſt glorious epochas that have diſtinguiſhed the annals of our freedom, the day of your miſſion to our republic. Your republic not only conquers its enemies by the force of its arms, but fills its friends with amazement at the generoſity of its proceedings. The love of our liberty makes us feel the worth of the magnanimous exertions of a great people aſpiring to recover their own. Thoſe exertions have ſurpaſſed all expectation. Your nation, ſingle againſt the reſt of Europe, has afforded the world an aſtoniſhing example of what that energy can achieve which is produced by the ſentiment of LIBERTY.—Your army, marching in the ſteps of Hannibal, and ſurpaſſing by its deeds whatever is moſt wonderful in antiquity, led on by a hero who unites to every virtue the powers of the moſt diſtinguiſhed genius, has caſt a glance on a corner of the globe where a remnant of the ſons of Liberty fled for refuge, and where is found rather the plainneſs of Spartan manners than the elegance

of

of Athens. You know, citizen ambaſſador, that the ſimplicity of our cuſtoms, the deep ſentiment we cheriſh of liberty, are the only inheritance which has been tranſmitted to us by our fathers: this we have been able to preſerve untouched amidſt the political convulſions which have taken place in the ſucceſſion of many revolving ages, and which neither ambition nor hatred have been able to deſtroy. Return then to the hero who has ſent you: Carry back to him the free homage not only of that admiration which we ſhare with the whole world, but alſo of our gratitude: Tell him that the republic of St. Marino, ſatisfied with its mediocrity, fears to accept of his generous offer of enlarging its territory, which might, in the end, prove injurious to its liberty."

Here then is a ſtriking and inſtructive inſtance of a community enjoying in grateful contentment their beloved and enviable freedom while a thouſand years have rolled away, and who, ſatisfied with the peaceful poſſeſſion of their native mountain, refuſe to hearken to the moſt tempting offers of an enlargement of their dominion. What a contraſt to the wicked and abſurd policy of thoſe *Chriſtian countries* which, great in riches, in extent of territory and population, place their chief glory in ſubjecting to

their tyrannical yoke the fartheſt regions of the globe, whoſe weak and unoffending inhabitants could never have afforded the ſlighteſt pretext for inflicting upon them theſe atrocious injuries, and who have no knowledge of their conquerors, but in the character and capacity of oppreſſors, plunderers, and aſſaſſins.

Scarcely had the peace with the pope been ſigned and ratified, when the attention of the French general was recalled to the northern parts of Italy, where the Auſtrians had again aſſembled in great force. General Alvinzi was now diſmiſſed from his command, and the archduke Charles, the idol of the German ſoldiery, placed at the head of the Imperial armies with full powers; and the court of Vienna, after its repeated diſappointments, ſtill flattered itſelf with the hopes that the deliverer of the empire, the hero of Kehl, and the conqueror of Jourdain, would be able to diſſolve the charm by which victory ſeemed bound to the car of Buonaparte. The archduke carried with him very powerful reinforcements from the banks of the Rhine; and the French government likewiſe detached from their forces in that quarter a very large diviſion under general Bernadotte; ſo that the flower both of the Auſtrian and French armies were now aſſembled at the foot of

of the Noric Alps, to decide a quarrel which had begun near the ſhores of the German Ocean.

Since the defeat of the gallant but unfortunate Alvinzi at Rivoli, the French had occupied the right ſide of the Piava, from its ſource in the Alps to its *embouchure* in the Adriatic. The Auſtrians, marching from all parts, gradually formed on the oppoſite ſhore, and ſome ſkirmiſhes had already taken place between the advanced poſts, when Buonaparte returned from the unlaurelled triumphs of the papal war to the grand ſcene of military operation. The diviſions under Maſſena and Serrurier having paſſed the Piava, the archduke fell back on Belluno, and continued retreating till he had repaſſed the Tagliamento, the banks of which deep and rapid ſtream the Auſtrians had ſo fortified, from the mountains to the Adriatic, as to render the farther progreſs of the French army extremely hazardous. Here, therefore, general Buonaparte thought it expedient to pauſe; and, contrary to his apparent cuſtom, cautiouſly to deliberate before he ventured to paſs this bulwark of the Auſtrian dominions. On the 16th of March (1797), all the neceſſary diſpoſitions being made, general Buonaparte, depending upon the co-operation of general Joubert on the ſide of the Tyrol, and taking his advantage of

the lowneſs of the waters of the Tagliamento, in conſequence of the froſt which ſtill arreſted the torrents uſually flowing into that river from the Glaciers and the Upper Alps, determined to make what may be regarded as one of the boldeſt efforts of the Italian war. General Duphot firſt threw himſelf into the river at the head of a brigade of light infantry, ſupported by Bernadotte, Murat, and ſeveral other brave officers, and, having gained the oppoſite ſhore, the whole army gradually formed in ſpite of various fierce charges from the Auſtrian cavalry. The Auſtrians, aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted, made comparatively but a feeble reſiſtance. The village where the archduke had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters being vigorouſly attacked, that prince was compelled haſtily to withdraw his troops under cover of the night, and continued his march till he reached the gorges of the mountains which bound the Venetian territory; leaving part of his artillery, and the towns of Palma Nuova, Udine, and the ſurrounding country, to the mercy of the conqueror. Buonaparte was not deceived in his expectations from Joubert. That officer was inſtructed to penetrate through the Tyrol into Carinthia, aſcending up the Adige, and following the courſe of that river to Brixen; then to proceed to the head of the Drave. He was

oppoſed

oppoſed in his progreſs by general Laudohn, related to the great mareſchal Laudohn, over whom Joubert obtained ſeveral advantages, compelling him to retreat to Inſpruck, while Joubert took poſſeſſion of Brixen, where the Auſtrians had large magazines. Another diviſion, under general Maſſena, alſo paſſing the Tagliamento near its ſource, continued its march among the mountains, with much difficulty from the nature of the country, and reſiſtance from the enemy, to the ſources of the Drave. The main body of the French army had by this time entered the Auſtrian Frioul—the garriſon of Gradiſca ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. Trieſte, the chief town of Carniola, and the whole province of Iſtria bordering on the Adriatic, ſubmitted to the arms of the republic. The head-quarters of the archduke were now removed to Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, to which the generals Buonaparte and Maſſena preſſed forward in different directions,—the latter defeating in his progreſs a large diviſion of the Auſtrian army on the ſummit of the vaſt mountains which impend over the town of Tarwis. The battle was fought, according to the expreſſion of the French commander, above the clouds,—the ſnow covering the ground to a great depth.

General Joubert was at this time ſtill entangled

tangled in the Tyrolian Alps; but, deſiſting from his purſuit of Laudohn, he paſſed the ſummit of the range of mountains dividing the Tyrol from the duchy of Carinthia, and, continuing his march along the Drave, joined the generals Buonaparte and Maſſena at Clagenfurt; whence prince Charles, at the near approach of the French, had made his farther retreat. The republicans were now in poſſeſſion of all the Auſtrian territory on the Italian ſide of the Alps, of the Tyrol, of the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and Iſtria, on the German ſide. Having, after an unexampled ſeries of triumphs, attained to this ſummit of proſperity, the French general exhibited an extraordinary inſtance of moderation and good policy, in making a direct overture for peace, in a letter addreſſed (March 31) to the archduke, and expreſſed in terms the moſt open, frank, and generous, highly deſerving of hiſtoric commemoration. "Brave ſoldiers (ſays the French commander) make war, but deſire peace. Has not the war laſted ſix years? Have we not committed evils enough againſt ſuffering humanity?—Europe, who had taken up arms againſt the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains, and the ſixth campaign is announced under the moſt portentous auſpices.—Is there no hope then of accommodation? Is it eſſential to the intereſts or gratifying

fying to the paſſions of a nation, far removed from the theatre of war, that we ſhould continue to murder each other? Do not imagine, gallant general, that I wiſh to inſinuate that you cannot ſave your country by force of arms; but, with reſpect to myſelf, if the overture which I have now the honor to make to you could be the means of ſparing the life of a ſingle man, I ſhould prize more highly the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than the melancholy glory which would reſult from the moſt brilliant military exploits." The archduke returned a polite though ſomewhat cool reply to this remarkable letter, importing, "that he neither conceived it his part to enter into any diſcuſſion of the principles upon which the war was carried on, nor was he furniſhed by the emperor with any powers to conclude a treaty of peace."

Upon receiving this anſwer, general Buonaparte again put his troops in motion. On the 2d of April general Maſſena, with the advanced guard, attacked the archduke in the defiles between Freiſach and Neumark. After a bloody conflict the Auſtrians retired, leaving the field covered with dead. On the 4th, another partial engagement took place at Hunſmark, where the French maintained again their wonted ſuperiority. The French general now continued his

his march; and the Auſtrians retreating acroſs the Muhr, the enemy took poſſeſſion of the town of Judenburg in the principality of Styria, ſituated on that river. They were now 120 miles only from Vienna, which, by the rapid approach of the French, was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Some thouſands of men were employed in raiſing new works for the defence of the city. A general enrolment took place, in which the noble and the peaſant were alike included, and precautions were taken to remove the public treaſure and archives of the archduchy into Hungary. The advanced poſts of the French army had already left Judenburg far in the rear; and the general informed the Directory in his diſpatches, "that he hoped, at the head of 20,000 grenadiers, to plant, in a few days, the ſtandard of the French republic in the capital of his Imperial majeſty."

But notwithſtanding the flattering proſpects before him, there were preſent to his mind conſiderations of great moment, which might well cauſe the French commander to pauſe in his career of victory. Intelligence was juſt received that the brave and hardy Tyroleſe peaſantry had, as on former occaſions, riſen in a maſs, and, under the active and ſpirited conduct of general Laudohn, had recovered Botſen and Brixen, whence the French troops, left for the defence

of

of the Tyrol, had been driven with loſs. General Alvinzi was advancing by Fiuma and Trieſte into the Frioul, and a great army was gradually forming in the rear of the French. There was alſo good reaſon to believe that the republic of Venice, which had been ever ſecretly inimical to France, waited only a favorable opportunity of joining the Auſtrians avowedly and openly. The conquering army, though full of ſpirit and courage, was much diminiſhed in number, deſtitute of heavy artillery for ſieges, and utterly incompetent to retain poſſeſſion of the numerous provinces it had ſubdued. General Buonaparte, in the height of his ſucceſſes, began to feel that he was in the midſt of an enemy's country; and, as he advanced, the peaſantry of Carinthia and Carniola would, in all probability, follow the example of the Tyrolians—the different proclamations of liberty which he had publiſhed from time to time having produced no ſenſible effect. His communication with France, and even with Italy, ſeparated as that country was now from him by a tremendous barrier of mountains, muſt be given up. He had no expectation of ſupport from any quarter; and the army he commanded was manifeſtly unequal to the mighty taſk of ſubverting the Auſtrian empire. Even ſhould he ſucceed in the doubtful enterprize of making himſelf

himſelf maſter of Vienna, defended as it ſtill was by the lofty Styrian hills riſing from the banks of the Muhr, and by a brave and patriotic army commanded by a gallant prince, beloved and revered by his country, formidable notwithſtanding his loſſes, and whoſe defeats were not like thoſe of Arcole and Rivoli, he would even then ſee before him an almoſt interminable length of territory;—to the north, Bohemia; to the ſouth, Hungary; and, to the eaſt, the vaſt provinces of Auſtrian Poland. Armies would riſe up on every ſide; his forces would be haraſſed, diminiſhed, and diſpirited, by inceſſant action; and he might at laſt deem himſelf fortunate to eſcape, like his celebrated predeceſſor, mareſchal Belleiſle, after penetrating into the centre of the Auſtrian dominions, with the ſhattered remnant of his troops, back into his own country. In this ſtate of things it was no doubt with great ſatisfaction that general Buonaparte received, through the medium of general Bellegarde, a diſpatch from the court of Vienna, propoſing a ſuſpenſion of arms for ten days. To this propoſition he immediately acceded; and within that term preliminaries of peace were ſigned (April 18, 1797) at Leoben in Styria.

The articles of this famous treaty contained a direct ceſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands to France;

France; they allowed the free navigation of the Rhine, and recognized the independence of the newly-erected Italian republics. Thus was England alone, of all the powers engaged in the confederacy againſt France, left to carry on that ruinous, unjuſt, and hopeleſs conteſt *.

A manifeſto, publiſhed April 9, pending the negotiation, was addreſſed from Leoben, by general Buonaparte, to the doge and ſenate of Venice, complaining of the hoſtile diſpoſition which that government had uniformly ſhewn towards the French, and demanding inſtant ſatisfaction for the injuries they had ſuſtained. It was particularly alleged againſt them, that marſhal Beaulieu had been received in their territory with every mark of kindneſs after his ſucceſſive defeats in the campaign of 1796, and even ſuffered to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Peſchiera on the Lake of Guarda. The repeated diſaſters of the Auſtrians at length, it is aſſerted, awakened the Venetian ſenate from its dream of the eventual ſucceſs of the coalition:

* "While the armies and navies of England have been given to Mr. Pitt (ſays a celebrated writer) without reſtriction, and its treaſures poured out at his feet, his unproſperous *prudence* has produced all the effects of the blindeſt temerity, and finally left this country nothing but her own naked force to oppoſe the imminent danger of falling under the dominion of France."

BURKE'S '*Third Letter.*'

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it was perceived that general Buonaparte would not be made the dupe of their inſidious policy; and, dreading to be involved in the general deſtruction which threatened the remaining deſpotic governments of Italy, the ſenate ſought with eagerneſs ſome favorable opportunity of joining their forces with thoſe of the emperor for the extermination of the invaders. The retreat of the archduke, and the march of the French towards the capital of the Auſtrian dominions, ſeemed to be the preciſe moment, when, without riſk or danger, they might aim a deciſive blow. General Buonaparte was nevertheleſs well informed of the perfidious intentions of the ſenate, but hoped that the forces which he had left in Lombardy, under general Augereau, would be ſufficient to over-awe the Venetian government. But when the news arrived of general Laudohn's progreſs in the Tyrol, and alſo of general Alvinzi's march into Italy, by Carniola, in the rear of the French, the report was univerſally circulated that the French were on the point of laying down their arms, and that nothing was wanting to render the victory deciſive but a general movement and co-operation on the part of the loyal ſubjects of the Venetian government. The influence of the prieſts and nobles was ſufficient to blow into a flame the inſurrection which they had been

ſecretly

ſecretly preparing. A cruſade againſt the French, as regicides and atheiſts, was publicly preached by the prieſts as a ſacred duty: the inſurgents, to the amount of 40,000, were ſoon equipped, and formed into regiments under the direction of regular officers employed in the ſervice of the ſtate; and the French were attacked at Vicenza, Padua, Verona, &c.—and at the laſt of theſe places, on the ſecond feſtival of Eaſter, the ringing of the bell was the ſignal to commence the new Sicilian veſpers by aſſaſſinating all the French in that city, without excepting even the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals, who, it is affirmed, were thrown into the Adige pierced with a thouſand ſtabs from ſtilettoes.—Such is the ſubſtance of the heavy accuſations brought by the French general againſt the Venetian ſtate.

Not knowing, or probably ſuſpecting, how ſpeedily a pacification was likely to take place between France and the emperor, the tenor of the anſwer returned by the doge was cold and evaſive. He pretended indeed, "that the members of government were overwhelmed with affliction at the receipt of general Buonaparte's letter; and aſſerted, "that the ſenate had ever entertained the firmeſt reſolution of maintaining peace with the French republic; alleging, that though ſome diſorders inſeparable from popular

inſurrections might have happened, the government had taken the neceſſary meaſures to appeaſe them." It muſt be remarked that general Laudohn, after expelling the French from the Tyrol, was now deſcending from the mountains, down the banks of the Adige, to join the numerous levies of inſurgents in that quarter—general Augereau being utterly unable to oppoſe his progreſs. General Alvinzi alſo was rapidly advancing on the oppoſite ſide, and had actually paſſed the defiles leading to the Frioul: ſo that the Venetian government conceived general Buonaparte to be in a moſt hazardous ſituation, and regarded all Lombardy as once more in poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians.

Immediately on ſigning the preliminaries of Leoben, general Buonaparte evacuated the Auſtrian territory; and early in May, from his head-quarters at Palma Nuova, he publiſhed a formal declaration of war againſt Venice, the government of which, amazed and confounded at the threat it contained, "to trample in the duſt the lion of St. Mark," offered no reſiſtance. On the 12th of May the French army entered the city of Venice, which, from the foundation of the republic, a period of 1,300 years, had never before ſubmitted to a foreign yoke. The Senate and Council of Ten were forthwith aboliſhed, and the three ſtate inquiſitors put under arreſt.

arreſt. A proviſional adminiſtration was appointed, and a municipality of fifty members choſen under the control of ſix commiſſioners nominated by the French general. Thus was an antient and execrable tyranny, falſely ſtyling itſelf a republic, but which was in reality an oligarchy of the moſt odious kind, ſuddenly and completely annihilated, to the aſtoniſhment of the world; but, as ſoon appeared, from motives which allow little ſcope for praiſe to the haughty ſubverters of it. The capture of Venice put the French in poſſeſſion of a prize highly important to the republic, which was the ſhipping in the port, with the naval and military ſtores contained in the magazines and arſenals of that great city. The Venetian iſlands in the Adriatic and Archipelago, with her Dalmatian and Iſtrian provinces, ſhared the fortunes of the parent ſtate.

The fall of Genoa ſucceeded almoſt immediately that of Venice. From the days of Andrew Doria, a popular or democratic party has always ſubſiſted in the Genoeſe republic. This party, from the extraordinary ſucceſſes, and no doubt from the ſecret encouragement of the French, had recently become very formidable to the government; and no ſooner was the intelligence received of the ſubverſion of the Venetian government, than a general inſurrection

broke out, which, threatening the ſafety of the ducal palace, compelled the grand council to declare the patrician government diſſolved. A proviſional adminiſtration was then appointed, which, under the avowed influence of the French general, was ſoon after ſuperſeded by a government founded on the model of the republic of France; with whom the Genoeſe, now aſſuming the appellation of the Ligurian Republic, concluded a treaty of dependence, under the name of amity. Nearly at this period the Cispadane and Transpadane governments were united by general Buonaparte, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic, which alſo adopted the French model as their pattern and exemplar.

The events which paſſed during this ſhort campaign on the Rhine merit no very diſtinct notice. Early in the ſpring the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, now commanded by general Hoche, paſſed the Rhine at Duſſeldorf, and attacked the Auſtrian entrenchments on the banks of the Lahn with conſiderable ſucceſs, purſuing the enemy to the gates of Frankfort; general Werneck, who commanded, being unable to withſtand the ſuperior force brought againſt him. In the mean time general Moreau paſſed the ſame river in the vicinity of Straſburg, not without ſome loſs from the Auſtrian artillery. But when the whole army had reached the

the German ſhore, a fierce and bloody conflict enſued, in which the Auſtrians were repulſed, and the fort of Kehl, which was ſtill lying in ruins, with the park of artillery, and ſeveral thouſand priſoners, fell into the hands of the republicans. The Auſtrians retreated precipitately towards the Danube, whither general Moreau was preparing to follow them, when the welcome news arrived of the ſigning of the preliminaries of peace by the archduke and general Buonaparte.

The naval tranſactions of the preſent year were, as well as the military events, very important and memorable. After all the pompous threats of invaſion, it excited however laughter rather than alarm, to be officially apprized that a ſmall French ſquadron, conſiſting of two frigates and two ſloops, had caſt anchor in the bay of Cardigan, where, on the 23d of February, they diſembarked about 1,500 men, with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field-pieces. Great exertions being made by the gentlemen of the vicinity, before night about 700 men, militia, fencibles, or yeomen cavalry, were collected in this rude and unfrequented ſpot, together with great numbers of the peaſantry armed with ſcythes and pitchforks. Of this party lord Cawdor aſſumed the command; and, on approaching the

enemy, he received a letter, ſigned "Tate, Chef de Brigade," intimating that the circumſtances under which the body of French troops under his command were landed having rendered it unneceſſary to attempt any military operation, he propoſed a capitulation. This propoſal being accepted, about noon on the ſucceeding day they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. The two frigates alſo were captured on their return to Breſt, and the whole expedition proved as unfortunate in the execution as it was unaccountable in the deſign.

For many months paſt the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, had been blocked up in their harbours by the Britiſh ſquadrons. At length, however, the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by Don Joſeph de Cordova, depending on its great ſuperiority of force, left the port of Carthagena (February the 4th), and paſſed the rock of Gibraltar on the following day. Soon after they had cleared the Strait this fleet was deſcried by the Niger frigate, which immediately tranſmitted the intelligence to admiral ſir John Jervis, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, who commanded on that ſtation. On the night of the 13th they approached ſo near, that their ſignal guns were diſtinctly heard. "In this ſituation" the admiral, to uſe his own words, "anxiouſly

" anxiouſly awaited the day;" when the Spaniſh fleet was found to conſiſt of no leſs than twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, whereas that of the Britiſh amounted to no more than fifteen. Far from thinking, in theſe circumſtances, of a retreat, the admiral " bore down with a preſs of ſail upon the enemy before they had time to connect and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment (ſays the gallant commander, in his official account) was not to be loſt; and, confident in the ſkill, valor, and diſcipline, of the officers and men I had the happineſs to command, and judging that the honor of his majeſty's arms, and the circumſtances of the war in theſe ſeas, required a conſiderable degree of enterprize, I felt myſelf juſtified in departing from the regular ſyſtem; and, paſſing through their fleet in a line formed with the utmoſt celerity, tacked, and thereby ſeparated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ſhips which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the Salvadore del Mundo, and San Joſef, of 112 guns each, the San Nicholas of 80, and the San Iſidro of 74, were captured, and the action ceaſed about five o'clock in the evening," when the Spaniards made in great confuſion for the har-

bour of Cadiz. It was computed that the loſs of the enemy in this engagement, ſo remarkable for the extraordinary degree of ſcience exhibited in the manœuvres of the Engliſh admiral, could not fall ſhort of 6,000 men, including the killed, wounded, and priſoners, while that of the Britiſh did not exceed 300, eighty of whom belonged to the crew of the Captain, a third rate, commanded by commodore Nelſon, who, notwithſtanding the vaſt diſparity of force, attacked with the utmoſt fury the flag ſhip of the Spaniſh admiral, La Santiſſima Trinidada of 136 guns. He was moſt gallantly ſupported by the captains Trowbridge and Frederick in the Culloden and the Blenheim, who loſt between them no leſs than 118 men; ſo that the whole preſſure of the action reſted on theſe three ſhips, chiefly from the noble eagerneſs which they diſplayed to compel the Spaniſh admiral to ſtrike his flag; but, though reduced to a wreck, Don Cordova appeared determined to ſink rather than ſubmit. The honors of the peerage were moſt deſervedly beſtowed upon the admiral in reward of his ſervices, and the title of Lord St. Vincent commemorated the place near which the battle was fought.

The laurels which this gallant commander acquired on this occaſion were unfortunately ſomething tarniſhed by an injudicious attempt made,

made, on very fallacious intelligence, upon the town of Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe. On the 15th of July, commodore, now admiral, Nelſon, arrived before that port with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of war; from which a thouſand men, under captain Trowbridge, were landed, who took poſſeſſion of the town, not, however, without conſiderable reſiſtance; but found themſelves utterly unequal to the attack of the fort, the ſtrength of which, as well as of the military force of the iſland, now aſſembling, was far greater than they had been led to expect. Preparing therefore for a retreat, they had the misfortune to learn that the boats were ſtoven by the violence of the ſurge on the beach. In this ſituation they were ſummoned by the Spaniſh commandant to ſurrender; but this the gallant Trowbridge diſdainfully rejected; ſaying, "he would not capitulate as long as he had a man left alive." On which the Spaniard informed the captain, by a polite meſſage, that, to ſpare the effuſion of human blood, he, and what remained of his men, were at liberty to return to their ſhips—not only providing boats for the purpoſe, but, as ſoon as the convention was ſigned, generouſly furniſhing them with ſupplies of biſcuit and wine. The loſs of lives in this wild attempt was equal to that ſuſtained in the battle of Cape St. Vincent. Admiral Nelſon himſelf

himſelf loſt his right arm by a cannon ball, two captains were killed, and a third wounded. And it is hard to ſay by what figure of ſpeech lord St. Vincent, in his official account of this diſaſter, could think himſelf authorized to affirm, "that, although the enterprize had not ſucceeded, his majeſty's arms had acquired a very great degree of luſtre."

Early in the preſent year an expedition ſailed from Port Royal in Martinico, under the command of ſir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral Harvey, for the Spaniſh iſland of Trinidad. On approaching the gulf of Paria, a Spaniſh ſquadron of four ſhips of the line and one frigate was diſcovered lying at anchor. The preparations made for an attack were, however, anticipated by the Spaniards themſelves, who ſet fire to their ſhips in the middle of the night. One line-of-battle ſhip only eſcaped the conflagration, and fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and the next day (February the 18th) a capitulation was ſigned by the governor for the whole of that valuable colony, the garriſon being made priſoners of war.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs an attempt was made by the ſame commanders, in the month of April following, on the large and important iſland of Porto Rico. But here they found themſelves no leſs deceived in their calculations than

lord

lord St. Vincent at Teneriffe. After diſembarking their troops, and approaching the town, it was found far too ſtrong, in its natural and artificial defences, to be carried by a *coup de main*; and, not being in a condition to undertake a regular ſiege, they contented themſelves with a bombardment, which producing no effect, the troops re-embarked with the loſs of 200 men, without adding, in any reſpect, "to the luſtre of his majeſty's arms."

Great preparations had been making for many months in the Dutch ports, as was believed, with the intention of co-operating with the French in a ſecond invaſion of Ireland, at a period far more critical than the firſt. But the fleet, when completely equipped, had been long blocked up in the Texel by admiral Duncan, who commanded a powerful ſquadron in thoſe ſeas. In the beginning of October the Britiſh commander quitted his ſtation, and retired to Yarmouth Roads to refit: on which a peremptory order was iſſued by the Dutch government to admiral de Winter, the commander, to ſtand to ſea. Admiral Duncan, having very early notice of this movement, got under weigh with his ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixteen ſail of the line, with the utmoſt expedition; and, on the morning of the 11th, came in ſight of the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail of the line, but

of

of inferior ſize to the Britiſh. Shortening ſail in order to connect the fleet, he ſaw the land, between Camperdown and Egmont, three leagues to leeward of the enemy; and finding there was no time to be loſt, he threw out the ſignal to engage to leeward, and break the enemy's line. By this bold manœuvre, regardleſs of the danger of a *lee-ſhore*, he prevented the retreat of De Winter, who, finding a battle inevitable, engaged with the utmoſt bravery. Unfortunately for him, admiral Story, who commanded in the centre, ſheered off with the greater part of his diviſion at the commencement of the action, entering the Texel the next day wholly uninjured. After this baſe deſertion the Dutch were manifeſtly overpowered by ſuperior force. Vice-admiral Onſlow, who began the attack, diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt gallantly; and admiral Duncan was ſeen in the thickeſt of the action, in which, unlike the engagement off Cape St. Vincent, every ſhip found full and arduous employment—the Dutch fighting with a degree of courage which bordered upon deſperation. Admiral de Winter ſtruck, a mere wreck, to the Venerable, admiral Duncan's own ſhip. The vice-admiral Reintjies alſo ſurrendered to admiral Onſlow; and the whole fleet would probably have been captured, but, under favor of the night, two or three veſſels eſcaped into the Texel.

Texel. The ſhips taken were ten of the line and two frigates. One of the former, the Delft of 56 guns, ſunk within ſight of the Britiſh coaſt. A more bloody conflict has ſeldom been fought. Nine ſhips of the Britiſh fleet loſt more than 700 men; but this was little to the carnage which took place amongſt the Dutch, of whom 500 were killed and wounded on board the admiral and vice-admiral only. The battle was fought ſo near the ſhore, that every manœuvre might be diſtinctly ſeen; and the whole coaſt, for many miles, was crowded with thouſands of ſpectators—the melancholy witneſſes of the great diſaſter which had befallen their country from a power which profeſſed to enter into the preſent war chiefly with a view to their protection.

Great and univerſal rejoicings were made throughout England for this victory, which was as important as it was glorious; and which produced a much greater ſenſation than any event which had happened ſince the triumph of lord Howe over the French. For although the victory of lord St. Vincent was admired and celebrated by profeſſional men as a moſt brilliant and ſcientific diſplay of nautical ſkill, neither was it ſo deciſive as the preſent, or attended with the ſame great and beneficial conſequences. The Dutch hero De Winter received, on his arrival in England, from the attentions of a generous

nerous enemy, every conſolation that the magnitude of his misfortune admitted. The Britiſh admiral, immediately on his return, was created viſcount Duncan of Camperdown, in alluſion to that part of the coaſt of Holland near which this memorable battle was fought.

The extreme abſurdity of the new republican conſtitution of France, which, as it were, eſtabliſhed in the ſame government two claſhing and hoſtile authorities, very early diſplayed itſelf*. From the very origin of it, in 1795, acrimonious contentions had taken place upon ſubjects of the utmoſt importance between the executive and legiſlative powers; and the great legiſlative council of Five Hundred ſeemed well diſpoſed gradually to abſorb all the political functions of the Directory into their own vortex. The executive power was manifeſtly deſtitute of the conſtitutional means of maintaining its conſtitutional authority. The committees of the le-

* Nothing, it has been remarked, eſcapes the ſagacity of SHAKSPEARE.—In his hiſtoric drama of Coriolanus, he very forcibly expreſſes the miſchief and abſurdity of a form of government which permits this political ſoleciſm of *Imperium in imperio*.

" They chooſe their magiſtrate!—and my ſoul aches
To know, when two authorities are up,
Neither ſupreme, how ſoon confuſion
May enter 'twixt the gap of both, and take
The one by th' other." ACT III.

giſlative

giſlative council were every thing; the miniſters of ſtate appointed by the Executive Directory were nothing. So far back as the beginning of December 1796, the Directory had ſent a meſſage to the council, ſtating the extreme financial diſtreſſes of the ſtate, and recommending certain remedial meaſures as abſolutely neceſſary to be immediately adopted. This meſſage being referred to the committee of finances, M. Camus, the preſident, reported "that the alarming and deſperate ſtate of the republic exiſted only in the meſſage; that a ſevere œconomy would reſtore the equilibrium of receipt and expenditure; and that the errors contained in the ſtatement were equalled only by the imprudence of the Directory in making them public." This language, ſo improper to be held from one branch of the ſame government to another, was the infallible omen of future and alarming diſſenſions.

On the 31ſt of January, 1797, a meſſage was tranſmitted by the Directory to the council of Five Hundred, announcing the diſcovery of a royaliſt conſpiracy. It appeared on the evidence of Ramel, commandant of the national guard, and others, that the plan of a counter-revolution had been communicated to them by Dunan, Brotier, &c. to be effected by the aſſiſtance of England. The terroriſts and Jacobins were to be

be engaged as aſſociates in this conſpiracy, if it ſhould be found the royaliſts could not do without them. In the écritoire of Brotier were contained ſeveral papers, dated at Verona, with the ſignature of Louis XVIII.; and about the chevalier Dunan, who had been lately in England, was found a letter from Mr. Windham, ſecretary at war, in which he "begs him to be perſuaded that it is not his fault that nothing is decided reſpecting the ſending of funds for other parties of the royaliſts."

The conſpirators engaged in this crude and unintelligible plot were referred to a military tribunal, who condemned Dunan and Brotier to death, as convicted of the crime of enliſting men for the enemy, and others of them to different terms of impriſonment—the ſentence of the two chief conſpirators being alſo ſubſequently mitigated to the ſame puniſhment for a period of ten years.

On the 15th of March a meſſage was ſent to the council, "that the Directory found the government too weak to contend againſt the plots of royaliſm and anarchy; that the republic was but a problem, and that the audacity of its enemies was ſuch that it might almoſt be permitted to doubt whether it had any real exiſtence; and recommending the impoſition of a new oath of fidelity to the conſtitution, and of hatred

hatred to royaliſm and anarchy, upon the electors, previous to the choice of the new third." This was coldly received by the council, and the clauſe of fidelity only agreed to—that of hatred to royaliſm and anarchy being ſilently waved.

On the 20th of May the members of the new third took their ſeats in the two councils, and from this time the oppoſition to the Directory became very formidable. Amongſt the number elected were the generals Pichegru and Jourdain, and the famous Barrère, whoſe name was heard with marks of indignation; but, when that of Pichegru was announced, the whole aſſembly roſe in honor of the gallant commander who had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to his country. While Barrère was rejected as an outlaw, general Pichegru was unanimouſly choſen preſident; the ſame diſtinction being conferred upon Barbé Marbois in the ſenate, or council of elders. This augured ill to the Directory, both of them decidedly favoring the ſecret views of oppoſition.

Immediately previous to the meeting of the councils, a vacancy was declared in the executive board, Le Tourneur drawing the lot which diſrobed him of the directorial purple. Barthélemi, who had been ſucceſsfully engaged for two years paſt at Baſle in negotiating with the enemies of the republic, was unanimouſly

choſen to the office of director, though known to be of the anti-directorial party. Carnot alſo maintained a good underſtanding with the ſame faction, whoſe ultimate deſigns yet remain enveloped in much obſcurity. From this period almoſt every meaſure propoſed by the Directory was oppoſed, thwarted, and treated with the moſt ſtudied marks of diſreſpect and contempt. The majority of the directors, Reubel, Lepeaux, and Barras, were men who neither diſplayed great talents for government, nor were reputed to poſſeſs great virtues as individuals; but they were men of daring courage and little ſcrupuloſity, and who were ſecretly but firmly reſolved not tamely to ſubmit to the meaſures apparently meditated by their enemies againſt them.

On the 14th of June, Deſmolières made a celebrated report in the name of the committee of finance, which concluded with a ſet of reſolutions calculated to transfer the entire authority, hitherto exerciſed by the Directory, over the public treaſury, to the committee. The council of elders, who perceived, doubtleſs, that this would render them, as well as the Directory, cyphers, put their negative upon this decree. On the 23d of June, Dumolard propoſed a committee to examine the external relations of the French nation; and complained greatly of the diſturbance given, under the ſanction of the Directory,

rectory, to the Venetian, Genoese, and Helvetic republics—the conduct, not of the Directory merely, but of Buonaparte himself, being very severely scrutinized. Repeated complaints were made by the Directory to the council of the seditious conduct of the emigrant priests, who now, under protection of a legislative provision in their favor, returned in great numbers from their exile; and whom they represented as every-where disturbers of the public peace; and proposed restraining laws, which were treated by the council with contemptuous disregard.

The city of Lyons being declared by the Directory, in consequence of new insurrections and disorders amongst the inhabitants, in a state of siege, the council took great umbrage at this; and a resolution passed, on the motion of general Jourdain, "that such power should only be exercised in virtue of a decree of the legislative body." On the removal of Benezech, minister for home affairs, and Cochon, minister of police, who were supposed to favour the opposing, and, as they were at this time deemed, the rising, party in the council, fresh and violent murmurs were excited; and, on the motion of Camille Jourdain, a vote passed to require of the Directory a report of the present situation of the republic. Barras being the director most obnoxious, an attempt was made to deprive him

of his dignity, by making it a queſtion whether he was of the age ſpecified by law on entering upon his office. But this director affirming that he was preciſely forty at the time of his election, and no one being able to prove the contrary, the ſcheme proved abortive.

On the 20th of July the generals Pichegru and Willot preſented a plan for the re-organization of the national guard. The leading feature of it was to deprive the Directory of the right of nominating the officers. This was adopted, and paſſed into a decree. About the ſame time the council received intelligence that a detachment of the army, which was to embark at Breſt, had, in their march, paſſed through Ferte Alais, eleven leagues diſtant from Paris; whereas the Conſtitutional Act prohibited all troops from coming within twelve leagues from that city. This threw the council into a flame; and, although the order of march was proved to be written at Aix-la-Chapelle, by general Richepanſe, who declared himſelf ignorant of his having violated the conſtitutional limits of the act, and, moreover, that he did not even know of the exiſtence of any ſuch prohibition, they were by no means ſatisfied, and ſeveral angry reſolutions were paſſed upon this occaſion, calculated to throw odium upon the executive government. An addition

was

was made to the military guard of the council, and the precise limits of the constitutional radius around Paris were ascertained by the erection of pillars.

The political horizon of the metropolis was growing every day more dark and portentous. The news of the contest between the executive and legislative branches of the government had reached the armies, and been echoed back in addresses to the Directory, promising them support in this conflict against their enemies. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, general Buonaparte issued a declaration, informing his brave soldiers, "that the country was menaced with new dangers from the enemies of government within. Let us swear (said he) by the manes of those who have fallen by our side in the cause of liberty—let us swear on the colours we have newly gained—implacable war to the enemies of the republic, and of the constitution!" The armies of Moreau and Hoche shewed no less zeal in the cause of the Directory, which they conceived to be that of the constitution. These addresses were justly the subject of great alarm to the council, and messages were sent to the Directory, to inquire into this infraction of the constitution, in permitting the deliberations of an armed body, and in receiving addresses from them: also a resolution passed declaring

every aſſemblage of ſoldiers, convened for the purpoſe of deliberation, criminal, and the promoters of ſuch aſſemblies liable to puniſhment. Things were now come to a criſis; and, though no one could tell how the conteſt would end, a great political exploſion was univerſally expected; and the majority of the Directory not being —conformably to the wiſe policy of the Engliſh conſtitution, reſpecting the executive power— exempted from perſonal reſponſibility, were urged, by the beſt founded apprehenſions for their own ſafety, to the moſt deſperate and deſpotic meaſures.

The oppoſition in the council manifeſtly proceeded from a combination of cauſes, calculated to produce, upon the whole, a great effect, though, to all appearance, radically deficient in harmony of deſign or unity of object.

1ſt. The conſtitution itſelf contained, in its original ſtructure, the *ſtamina* of perpetual diſcord, as furniſhing the legiſlative council with irreſiſtible motives to the unconſtitutional extenſion of their powers, and, moreover, with the political means of gratifying whatever their boldeſt ambition could lead them to attempt.

2dly. A conſiderable proportion of the council conſiſted of terroriſts, who ſtill ſighed for the eſtabliſhment of the democratic conſtitution of 1793, and who watched with eagerneſs every opportunity

opportunity of leſſening the credit, and finally of ſubverting the authority, of the exiſting government.

3dly. Another claſs of the members, but inferior in number, conſiſted of royaliſts—very few probably of the old ſtamp, but real friends of rational liberty, who ſaw no likelihood of a firm ſettlement but in the reſtoration of the monarchy, on the principles of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by the National Aſſembly in 1789.

4thly. A fourth claſs profeſſed and probably entertained a firm attachment to the exiſting conſtitution; but were thrown into the arms of the oppoſition by their own obſervation of the incapacity, the corruption, and miſmanagement, which pervaded every branch and department of the executive government.

Theſe parties making occaſional and mutual conceſſions to each other for the ſake of maintaining their joint ſuperiority, many reſolutions, ſeemingly inconſiſtent in themſelves, but equally diſagreeable to the Directory, were the neceſſary reſult—ſome of them highly jacobinical, and others no leſs favorable to royaliſm. Under all theſe diſcouragements and diſadvantages, the Directory poſſeſſed one formidable prerogative, which, when put in the balance, infinitely outweighed them all—*viz.* the command of the immenſe military force, foreign and domeſtic, of the republic, whoſe confidence and regard

they had moſt aſſiduouſly cultivated. Emboldened by the late addreſſes from the different armies, they now determined effectually to cruſh all oppoſition, by the complete deſtruction of their opponents. General Augereau, a bold and active officer, had been ſent from Italy by Buonaparte, under the pretext of conveying ſome ſtands of colours, taken from the enemy, to the Directory, who entruſted to him the execution of their project. The executive government, which had hitherto held conciliatory language, now threw off the maſk, on a day of public audience, and declared, by the mouth of the preſident, "that the eternal enemies of French liberty were redoubling in vain their efforts to overturn it; calling in for this purpoſe bands of fanatics and royaliſts"—alluding to the recent relaxation of the laws againſt refractory prieſts and emigrants: "but with theſe enemies of the republic (the preſident ſaid) the Directory would make no compromiſe; they would ſuffer themſelves neither to be ſeduced nor affrighted; nor would they acknowledge any authorities but ſuch as the conſtitution traced out; and neither the number nor the *ſpecies* of their enemies ſhould cauſe in them any diſmay*."

This was the ſignal of hoſtility; and the mem-

* Anſwer of the preſident to the addreſſes of the Ciſalpine ambaſſador and general Bernadotte, on the preſentation of ſtandards, &c. from Italy.

bers

bers of oppoſition, who had thrown out ſuch haughty menaces againſt the Directory, were now, for the firſt time, awakened to a ſenſe of their own danger. Early on the morning of the 18th of Fructidor, (4th of September, 1797) the alarm-guns were fired by order of the majority of the Directory; for Barthélemi, refuſing to concur in theſe meaſures, was put under arreſt, while Carnot effected his eſcape. General Augereau at the ſame time received his inſtructions to ſurround the hall of the councils with a military force. This taſk he performed with conſummate courage and addreſs. Firſt repairing to the barracks of the legiſlative guard, he aſſured them that he came only to preſerve the conſtitution, and to ſave the republic from a conſpiracy of royaliſts. He was anſwered by the ſoldiers with ſhouts of *Vive la République!* and they declared their readineſs, in contempt of the expoſtulations and defiance of the threats of Ramel their commander, to obey his orders and follow him. Thus reinforced, Augereau entered the hall, where he found the chiefs of the oppoſition ſitting in council, and tardily deliberating on the ſteps proper to be taken by them in this emergency. With his own hand, Augereau ſeized upon general Pichegru, ſo lately the terror of Europe, and the arbiter of the fate of nations,—ordering eighteen others

of

of the members preſent to be arreſted, amongſt whom were Boiſſy d'Anglas, Bourdon de l'Oiſe, Dumolard, Rovère, Willot, and other diſtinguiſhed characters. The conſpirators, as they were called, were committed to the Temple, the halls ſhut up, and ſeals affixed to the doors by Augereau.

A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, to calm the minds of the people, and announcing "that, by the *vigilance* of the government, thoſe dark manœuvres were detected and overthrown which had for a whole year ſhaken the foundations of the republic, and which were preparing the way for a new and moſt horrible attack of royaliſm, which aimed at no leſs than the maſſacre of the Directory and of the deputies faithful to the people;—that the Directory was about to lay before the nation the authentic documents which it had collected concerning this deep and dangerous conſpiracy." To the council of Five Hundred, now ſummoned to meet at the Odeon, formerly a public theatre in the Fauxbourg St. Germaine, the Directory declared "that they had been forced to the meaſures recently taken." "If (ſaid they) the executive power had with-held itſelf from action one day longer, the republic would have been delivered up to its enemies—the conduct of the Directory was marked out by the inſtant neceſſity of being beforehand

beforehand with theſe conſpirators, who wiſhed to deprive the French of the fruit of their triumphs, and to make this magnanimous nation bow at the feet of the kings it has ſubdued."

On the next day a ſtill more alarming meſſage was ſent from the Directory to the council. "The moment (ſay they) is deciſive; if you allow it to paſs by, if you heſitate on the meaſures to be taken, if you put off your determination for an inſtant, all will be loſt—both you and the republic. You are at the brink of a volcano—it is about to ſwallow you up; to-morrow will be too late. You are placed in an unprecedented predicament—ordinary rules cannot apply to ſo extraordinary a caſe. What miſconceived pity would place the fate of a few individuals in balance with that of the republic?" After this prologue to the tragi-comic drama preparing to be acted, a committee of ſafety, conſiſting of five perſons, being choſen, Boulay de la Meurthe, the reporter, aſcended the tribune, and made a long oration, to prove "that the meaſures purſued by the oppoſition party in the council could have no other object than the reſtoration of royaliſm. *Without doubt* (ſaid he) an ordinary tribunal would declare the conſpiracy real, and puniſh the authors. But let us declare to France, that not a drop of blood ſhall be ſhed,

—that

—that the ſcaffold of terror ſhall not be erected anew."

Under this ſpecious pretence of lenity, therefore, he propoſed the plan of a decree; according to which, 1ſt. A great number of the late elections in the month of Floreal, with others to the judicial tribunals, were declared either valid or invalid, as ſuited the purpoſe of the Directory. 2dly. About ſixty members of the two councils, and twelve other perſons, had, without any trial or even examination, the ſentence of *deportation* paſſed upon them, to ſuch place as the Directory ſhould determine. Amongſt theſe were the two directors, Carnot and Barthélemi; the ex-miniſter Cochon; the generals Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and Miranda; with Boiſſy d'Anglas, Bourdon de l'Oiſe, Dumolard, Paſtoret, Vaublanc, and many other perſons of eminence, whoſe attachment to the cauſe of liberty and the republic there appeared no juſt ground to doubt. 3dly. All individuals whoſe names are inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, and not definitively eraſed, ſhall quit the territories of the republic in fifteen days. 4th. Every ſociety profeſſing principles hoſtile to the conſtitution of the third year ſhall be ſhut up.—All which paſſed both councils with the greateſt unanimity.

On the 20th Fructidor, general Jourdain, who had

had made in good time his peace with the Directory, moved for the nomination of proper perſons to ſucceed the directors Carnot and Barthélemi. Out of the ſeveral liſts preſented to them, the council of elders choſe François de Neufchâteau, and Merlin, miniſter of the home department. Thus was the authority of the Directory eſtabliſhed at the expenſe only of law, juſtice, equity, and the conſtitution; and there is reaſon to believe that they regarded the victory as cheaply gained.

After a ſhort interval the directors laid before the councils and the public the juſtificatory proofs, ſuch as they were, of the conſpiracy; which they claimed the merit of extinguiſhing by their patriotic vigilance, when on the eve of a moſt horrible exploſion. The documents in queſtion have been branded as forgeries of the Directory; but if they ſcrupled not to forge, they would certainly have invented what was more to their purpoſe. By far the moſt remarkable of theſe was a paper, the genuineneſs of which was atteſted by the generals Buonaparte and Berthier, purporting to be minutes of a converſation held by M. d'Entragues, an agent of Louis XVIII. at Venice, with the count Montgaillard, an emigrant of diſtinction, relative to the deſigns, at all times carrying on with more or leſs activity, for the effecting a counter-

revolution.

revolution. In this paper it is asserted, that Montgaillard finding Pichegru disposed to listen to propositions, the count, in the name of Louis XVIII. and the prince of Condé, offered him the rank of mareschal of France, the red ribband, the government of Alsace, &c. &c.; requiring of him, in return, to join his army to that of the prince of Condé, and, delivering up the fortress of Huningue, to march forthwith to Paris. With this proposal Pichegru refused to comply, stating, "that unwilling to make the third volume to La Fayette and Dumouriez, he would do nothing rashly."—He affirmed, nevertheless, "that his means were great and sure; that they had their roots not only in his army, but at Paris, in the convention, in the departments, in the armies of the generals his colleagues, who thought, like himself, that the present system must finish; that France could not exist as a republic; that there must be a king; and *that* king Louis XVIII." The plan which he proposed, after putting the strong places on the frontier in the hands of his most confidential officers, was, on a day concerted, "to proclaim the king, to hoist the white standard, and to unite his army with those of *Wurmser* and Condé; and then to commence his march to Paris." This proposal was declined by the prince of Condé, probably because general

ral Wurmſer had no authority thus to riſk his army; but, according to the author of the Minutes, becauſe the prince, equally ſtupid and proud, thought himſelf ſure of effecting the counter-revolution another way, and would not ſhare the glory of it with the Auſtrian general.

Many other papers were produced, which had been tranſmitted by general Moreau to the Directory, containing ſtrong corroborative evidence, that a plot of a very extenſive nature was going forward, in which many perſons of great eminence were involved, and general Pichegru very deeply: and it was now apparent why that celebrated officer was removed from his command, in the height of his ſucceſſes. The cloud of myſtery, nevertheleſs, which originally hung over this whole tranſaction, time has not diſpelled:—The object of the Directory was to confound, and not to diſcriminate; and, under the pretext and cover of an horrible plot, partly real, partly pretended, ſupported by proofs not adequate to the legal crimination perhaps of any individual, but ſufficient to agitate and terrify the public mind, to implicate all their enemies, Jacobins, royaliſts, and patriots, in one common ruin. Thus were the two councils purged of diſaffection and disloyalty; and, being now at leiſure to conſider farther the nature and extent of the danger ſo recently and happily ſurmounted,

ed, they declared "that one of the meaſures of the late conſpirators was to deprive the executive power of the moral and conſtitutional means of carrying on its functions; to arraign every part of its conduct, and, by degrees, deprive it of each of its prerogatives, and thus bring it to its diſſolution." To guard againſt the return of a peril ſo dreadful—excluſive of various other legiſlative regulations, by one of which the operations of the primary aſſemblies in no leſs than forty-nine departments were declared null and void—they ſubjected the care of the *liberty of the preſs*, for the term of one year, to the inſpection of the police; and the liberty of ſpeech in the council was confined to the privilege, ſtill generouſly left them, of applauding the wiſdom and activity of the executive government.

In the beginning of the month of June, lord Grenville had made, on the part of the king of Great Britain, a third effort to effect a pacification with France, by a direct application to M. de la Croix, declaring himſelf authorized to propoſe, without delay, to enter, in ſuch manner as ſhall be judged moſt expedient, upon the diſcuſſion of the views and pretenſions of each party. A polite anſwer was immediately returned by M. de la Croix, expreſſing the extreme ſatisfaction with which the Directory would

would receive the overtures which ſhould be made to it by the court of England; and Liſle was fixed upon as the place of meeting.—On the 17th of June lord Grenville, in a well-written letter, ſtated, "that the powers of the ambaſſador would be ſo full as to include *every caſe*, and to conclude *any articles* or treaties conducive to the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of peace, which (ſaid his lordſhip) is the ſole object of his miſſion—and informing the Directory that his majeſty had made choice of *the ſame miniſter* to repreſent him on this as on the former occaſion."—M. de la Croix, in reply, ſignified "the *conſent* of the Directory, that the negotiation ſhould be opened with lord Malmeſbury. Another choice would, however, (ſaid he) have appeared to the Directory to augur more favorably for the ſpeedy concluſion of peace." This was an early ſtep towards the creating of a miſunderſtanding. That the Directory had reaſon to except againſt the re-appointment of lord Malmeſbury, from the disingenuous manner in which he had executed his former commiſſion, muſt be allowed; that the ſecond nomination of a man ſo politically obnoxious was highly impolitic, cannot be doubted; but no objection having been made by M. de la Croix, in his firſt letter to that nobleman, it would ſurely have argued more wiſdom and temper in the French go-

vernment to have waved this invidious obſervation altogether. Lord Grenville, in his accuſtomed cold, haughty, and repulſive manner, from which he had in his laſt diſpatch happily deviated, replied to M. de la Croix, "that lord Malmeſbury will, without delay, proceed to Liſle, to enter into a negotiation with the French plenipotentiaries for the completion of a definitive treaty—the remark of the Directory, upon the choice which his majeſty had thought fit to make of his plenipotentiary, being certainly of a nature not to require *any* anſwer *."

On

* "On the 30th of December, 1796," ſays the admirable writer ſo often quoted in this volume, "Mr. Pitt informed the houſe of commons, 'that the king's ambaſſador had been diſmiſſed with every mark of ignominy and inſult; that a ſtudied inſult, refined and matured by the French Directory, had been offered to his Britannic majeſty.' And then he aſked, 'whether, after the king's miniſter had been ordered, in the moſt inſulting manner, to leave the territories of France; after our propoſitions had been ſlighted, and our ambaſſador inſulted; were we, by ſending couriers to Paris, to proſtrate ourſelves at the feet of a ſtubborn and ſupercilious government, to do what they require, and to ſubmit to whatever they may impoſe? I hope there is not a hand in his majeſty's councils which would ſign the propoſal; that there is not a heart in this houſe who would ſanction the meaſure; and that there is not an individual in the Britiſh dominions who would act as the courier.'—Such language, whether true or not, may ſerve to inflame a popular aſſembly, but is not ſafe or juſtifiable in a miniſter of ſtate. How can he adhere to it without perpetual war? How can he retract it without everlaſting infamy?

On the part of the Directory were nominated, as plenipotentiaries, the citizens Le Tourneur, late member of the Directorial Council, Pleville, and Maret, men of ſenſe, moderation, and ſagacity. The firſt diſpatch of lord Malmeſbury to lord Grenville is dated July the 11th, in which he mentions "that he had, in a conference with the French commiſſioners, on the 8th, given in the *projet* preciſely as he had received it from his lordſhip. This the commiſſioners had tranſmitted to the Directory. But in the mean time, and till their anſwer arrived, M. le Tourneur and his colleagues expreſſed their wiſhes to diſcuſs ſome inſulated points not referred to in the *projet*, but which were affirmed to be "INSEPARABLY CONNECTED with the general ſubject of peace." *Firſt*, It was obſerved in the ſubſequent conference, "that in the preamble of the *projet* the title of King of France was uſed. "This title (it was contended by the commiſſioners) could no longer be inſiſted on; the abolition of it was in a manner eſſential to the full acknowledgment of the

famy? The French made no apology. They offered no reparation. Yet, in leſs than ſix months, when the miniſter himſelf had ſo degraded the office, that no gentlemen ought to have accepted of it, the ſame hand was found to ſign, the ſame heart to ſanction, and the ſame courier to carry the meſſage exactly to the ſame parties."

'*Queſtion Stated*,' pp. 11, 12.

French republic." A government truly wiſe would have been happy to have embraced any favorable opportunity of diſcarding a title which was worſe than nothing, and vanity; it was a ſtanding cauſe of irritation—a permanent monument of injuſtice. An ambaſſador truly able would have yielded the point with frankneſs—pleaſed, by ſo eaſy a conceſſion, to infuſe that ſpirit of good humour into the negotiation ſo eſſential to its ultimate ſucceſs: But lord Malmeſbury, a genuine diſciple of the old ſchool, and wholly deſtitute of that force of penetration which at once perceives and recognizes the neceſſity of conforming to circumſtances in new ſituations, propoſed a ſeparate article, ſimilar to that inſerted in former treaties, as ſufficiently obviating the difficulty. The French plenipotentiary replied, "that it was to the title itſelf, as well as to any right which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from it, that they objected."—"This mode of reaſoning (lord Malmeſbury tells the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate) he could ſcarcely allow himſelf to treat ſeriouſly." But why it ſhould not be treated ſeriouſly ſeems impoſſible to conjecture. It was not only pardonable but proper for the French republican government to require the renunciation in queſtion. If it appeared upon the very face of the thing prepoſterous that the king of England ſhould ſtyle himſelf

himſelf King of France to the end of time, what period could be more ſuitable to the relinquiſhment of ſuch a ridiculous aſſumption than the preciſe moment when England acknowledged the validity of a government in France which had for ever aboliſhed *King-ſhip*.—Lord Malmeſbury thought fit, however, to enter into an elaborate defence of this idle pretenſion. "He endeavoured (he ſays) to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word." On the part of England this propoſition was moſt certainly true;—as applied to France, it was as certainly falſe. Suppoſing the Directory of France had choſen to ſtyle themſelves the Directory of England, would it have been a mere cavil in the Engliſh government to have objected to their preſumption? When a claim is advanced abſurd in itſelf, and revolting to the feelings of mankind, to except againſt it is not "cavilling," even allowing ſuch claim to be unattended with actual inconvenience: But to require this relinquiſhment of title was more than probable—it was juſt and rational in France; for it was aſking the removal of an antient and rooted cauſe of irritation and offence; and to refuſe this relinquiſhment was irrational in England at any time, more eſpecially at the commencement of a moſt important negotiation,

which the ſpirit of wiſdom and conciliation only could bring to a happy iſſue. A miniſter who did not ſee this grand truth clearly and diſtinctly was utterly unfit to be employed in ſo momentous a concern; and this firſt falſe ſtep of lord Malmeſbury ſhewed, in a ſtriking manner, how well founded was the *preſentiment* of the Directory, that the appointment of this nobleman augured ill to the ſucceſs of the negotiation. Though ſcarcely could he allow himſelf, as he profeſſes, to treat the ſubject ſeriouſly, he entered into a very dull and tedious harangue, to prove how conſiſtent it was with the dignity and ſecurity of the republic to ſuffer this obnoxious title to be retained—quoting, unfortunately for the honor of England, the lofty titles aſſumed by the feeble and falling monarchs of Sardinia and Sicily, as examples *exactly* in point. The French commiſſioners were much more eaſily convinced that the ſecurity of the republic was not concerned in this diſcuſſion than of the dignity of it: and, in fact, the dignity of both nations, if national *dignity* includes, in the definition of it, *common ſenſe*, equally required the ſacrifice of this folly. After much diſputation, lord Malmeſbury arguing (as he ſays) in vain, could not avoid taking it for reference,—leaving upon the minds of the French commiſſioners

commiſſioners an impreſſion relative to his diplomatic talents, the moſt diſtant in the world from that of reſpect and confidence *.

" The *ſecond* inſulated point (continues lord Malmeſbury) was a very material one indeed, and came upon him very unexpectedly. It was to aſk a reſtitution of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or an equivalent for them." The ambaſſador replied, " that this claim was ſo perfectly unlooked for, that it was *impoſſible* for him to have been provided for it in his inſtructions; but that his own private ſentiments were, that they could not have deviſed a ſtep more likely to defeat the great end of their miſſion." His lordſhip ſaid, " that he did not ſee where this equivalent was to be found, or how it was to be appreciated; and he truſted that this very

* Certainly the ſagacious Hume did not regard this abſurd and unjuſt aſſumption of title in the light which lord Malmeſbury ſeems ſo eager to place it in, if we may judge from the following quotation :—" From this period," (A. D. 1338) ſays that philoſophical hiſtorian, " when Edward III. firſt took upon him the title of King of France, we may date the commencement of that great animoſity which the Engliſh nation have ever ſince borne to the French, which has ſo viſible an influence on all future tranſactions, and which has been, and continues to be, the ſpring of many raſh and precipitate reſolutions amongſt them."

" When will ambition (ſays another reſpectable hiſtorian) liſten to the voice of reaſon and humanity, and permit mankind to enjoy the gifts of nature and providence in peace?"

Henry, vol. x. p. 82.

inadmiſſible propoſal would be withdrawn." They ſaid it was not in their power; and one of the commiſſioners read from their written inſtructions a paſſage which confirmed the aſſertion.—As lord Malmeſbury, in his ſeveral letters, is much more full in reporting his own arguments than thoſe of his adverſaries, it may, in juſtice to the French commiſſioners, be proper to ſtate the nature of their claim fairly and explicitly. It ſtands thus:—"Lord Hood was admitted into Toulon, and took poſſeſſion of the ſhips, &c. on the following condition, viz. That when peace ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in France, the ſhips and forts which ſhall have been put into the hands of the Engliſh ſhall be reſtored to the FRENCH NATION, in the ſame ſtate they were in when the inventory was delivered. By treating with the republic you acknowledge the exiſtence of a competent government, to which every reſtitution due to the French nation ought to be made. You cannot pretend that you hold the ſhips taken at Toulon as a depoſit in truſt for Louis XVIII. when, by making a perpetual peace with the republic, you are yourſelves parties to an act which annihilates the pretenſions of that perſon. Neither could even he have any claim to the reſtitution, unleſs he were in poſſeſſion of the throne. Ships of war, magazines, &c. are national property, not within the perſonal

ſonal ownerſhip of princes much leſs removable with their perſons: they are the fixtures of the ſtate, which even the ſovereign in poſſeſſion cannot alienate from the defence or ſervice of the country. We demand the reſtitution as repreſentatives of the French nation, which you acknowledge us to be, and preciſely in the terms of your own engagement *." Lord Malmeſbury rejects the claim, without attempting to anſwer the plea; for it ſurely is no anſwer to an argument to ſay that you are *ſurpriſed* at it. As for its being "unlooked for," no ſubject was more frequently mentioned in England, or more likely to be inſiſted upon by France. The ſame thing may indeed be remarked of the firſt of theſe inſulated propoſitions.

"The *third* queſtion (ſays lord Malmeſbury) was, as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in conſequence of money lent to the emperor by Great Britain. They wiſhed to know if any ſuch exiſted; ſince, as they had taken the Low Countries, charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare that they ſhould not conſider themſelves bound to anſwer any mortgage given for money lent to the emperor for the purpoſe of carrying on war againſt them. I told them, that, without replying to this queſtion, ſuppoſing the

* Vide 'QUESTION STATED,' pp. 15, 16.

caſe

caſe to exiſt, the exception they required ſhould have been ſtated in their treaty with the emperor, and could not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they ſtood charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what thoſe words meant; and that if no exception was ſtated in the firſt inſtance, none could be made with a retro-active effect. The French plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two: and as I found, to every argument I uſed, that they conſtantly oppoſed their inſtructions, I had nothing to do but to deſire that they would give me a written paper, ſtating their three claims, in order that I might immediately tranſmit it to your lordſhip; and, on this being promiſed, our conference broke up."—As lord Malmeſbury has entirely omitted to ſtate the ground on which the French commiſſioners reſted their firſt claim, it can only be conjectured that they actually did, as they certainly might with good reaſon, allege the invalidity of any mortgage title upon the revenues of the Low Countries, granted by the emperor at a time when the countries themſelves were not in his poſſeſſion; and that, although the caſe of the Engliſh mortgage might not be in immediate contemplation at the moment when the article of ceſſion was framed, it could never be

be ſuppoſed the intention of the French government to ſanction ſo great an abſurdity as to admit that the revenues of a territory actually conquered by them, could, according to any rule of equity or common ſenſe, be mortgaged by their former poſſeſſor for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying on the war againſt them.—Even had the claim on the part of the French been wholly arbitrary, it was not ſurely a point worth contending ſeriouſly about, conſidering the degree of eſtimation in which the Imperial ſecurities were held on the London Exchange; and, by *proviſionally* conceding this and the former points with cheerfulneſs and facility, reciprocal conceſſions might have been reaſonably expected from France, and the negotiation would have proceeded under happy auſpices.

The PROJET delivered by lord Malmeſbury to the commiſſioners of France was founded profeſſedly on the *ſtatus quo ante bellum*, with ſuch exceptions as ſhould be ſtipulated by ſpecific articles of the treaty—the French engaging to procure for the Houſe of Orange, at a general peace, an adequate compenſation for the loſs of their hereditary dignities. Several blanks were of courſe left in the *projet*, to be filled up as the negotiation went forward. The French commiſſioners, expreſſing their wiſhes that lord Malmeſbury would inform them in writing in what

what mode he meant to propoſe that theſe blanks ſhould be filled up, the Engliſh ambaſſador inſerted in the 13th article, relative to Spain, the words " with the exception of Trinidad, which ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion to his Britiſh majeſty,"—adding that this was intended to balance the augmentation of power accruing to France from the acquiſition of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo.

In the 14th article, relative to Holland, lord Malmeſbury inſerted the words " with the exception of the town, fort, and eſtabliſhment of the Cape of Good Hope ; and of the poſſeſſions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the iſland of Ceylon ; and of the town and fort of Cochin, which ſhall be ceded to his Britannic majeſty in exchange for the town of Negapatnam, with its dependencies." In the ſame note lord Malmeſbury ſignified that the poſitive demand of the French commiſſioners, of an entire reſtitution of the poſſeſſions belonging to France before the war, would not be an inſuperable obſtacle to the negotiation.

It would be great injuſtice not to admit—conſidering the number and value of the conqueſts made by England during the war, and, pre-ſuppoſing the propriety of treating Holland, for whoſe defence we entered, or pretended to enter, into the war, as an enemy—that the propoſals

poſals of the court of London on this occaſion were very reaſonable and moderate—certainly as much ſo as the French themſelves could poſſibly expect. So that if the preliminary demands had been, with a good grace, complied with, the negotiation would, in all probability, have terminated ſpeedily and happily*. But, in conſequence of the pertinacious and irritating oppoſition of Lord Malmeſbury, to whom, on this occaſion at leaſt, great powers were entruſted, and on whoſe diplomatic addreſs and ability every thing at this important moment depended, the negotiation ſuddenly aſſumed a moſt unpleaſant and ominous appearance.

* It would indeed have manifeſted a degree of wiſdom and magnanimity too rare and exalted to become the ſubject of practical diſcuſſion, for England to have reſtored, voluntarily and generouſly, all her conqueſts made during the preſent war—and which were, in fact, no better than ſplendid incumbrances. It is remarkable, that a hundred and thirty years before this time, when Britain could boaſt of very few foreign poſſeſſions, ſir William Temple, ambaſſador to the States General, at his firſt audience, declared, "that the king his maſter, contented with thoſe great and powerful kingdoms which God had given him, coveted nothing from his neighbours, nor had he other thoughts or wiſhes beſide thoſe of the common peace and repoſe of Chriſtendom." And queen Elizabeth, in one of her ſpeeches to parliament, avowed, "that though it might be thought ſimplicity in her, ſhe had not thought to advance her territories and enlarge her dominions, albeit opportunities had ſerved her to do it." Happy! had the policy of this great princeſs never been departed from.

On

On the 10th of July the French plenipotentiaries delivered to lord Malmeſbury a formal official note, in which they inform his lordſhip, "that they have the poſitive orders of the Directory, to require: 1ſt. The renunciation of the title of king of France borne by his Britannic majeſty. 2d. The miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic are ordered to demand the reſtitution of the veſſels taken or deſtroyed at Toulon. 3d. The miniſters plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, of the mortgage on Belgium."

On the 13th of July lord Grenville wrote a very remarkable letter to lord Malmeſbury, in which he ſays, "that the preliminary demands of the French miniſters have been received by the court of London *with great ſurprize*. On the ſubject of the Netherlands, as connected with the Auſtrian loans (ſays his lordſhip) it is conceived that any explanation between his majeſty and the French government is wholly unneceſſary. The loans raiſed in England for the ſervice of the emperor of Germany, and guarantied by act of parliament, here reſt, as your lordſhip will perceive by the annexed copy of the convention on that ſubject, upon the ſecurity of all the revenues of the hereditary dominions of his Imperial majeſty. They do not

ſeem

ſeem in any manner to come under the deſcription contained in the ſixth article of the preliminaries between Auſtria and France, reſpecting mortgages upon the ſoil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to *interfere* in the buſineſs. On the other two points I have nothing to add to the obſervations which your lordſhip has already made upon them; and we can therefore only wait with impatience for the anſwer to the *projet* delivered by your lordſhip, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating."

Here then one obſtacle, at leaſt, to the treaty, after all the previous and invidious oppoſition of lord Malmeſbury, is effectually removed; for the third preliminary of France it ſeems related to the renunciation of an ideal claim which Great Britain had no intention to bring forward. But if France thought that ſhe might be *ſuppoſed* to have contracted an obligation to England, by accepting the ceſſion of the Netherlands with all the incumbrances, it was not officious in her, but a mark of good faith, to require, formally, a releaſe from that engagement. On this point, however, it now appeared that the ſentiments of both governments were preciſely the ſame.

On the peruſal of lord Grenville's letter, it is very

very apparent that the ſecretary had fallen into the very ſame fatal error with the ambaſſador, and that neither had political penetration ſufficient to perceive the extreme importance which the French attached to their preliminary demands, although they were all, in fact, points of honor infinitely more than of intereſt. The *firſt* of the three was too obviouſly ſo to require a comment. As to the *ſecond*, the French plenipotentiaries themſelves obſerved, "that, without a reſtitution of the ſhips, an equivalent might be found to effect the purpoſe deſired, ſince *their great object* was that ſomething ſhould appear to prove that this juſt demand had not been over-looked by them, and was not left unſatisfied by us." Not a ſyllable had been urged by lord Malmeſbury to evince the impropriety or injuſtice of this claim; yet lord Grenville declares, that he has nothing to add to his lordſhip's obſervations. With reſpect to the intereſt which the French government might connect with the *third* claim, as the mortgage in queſtion extended to the revenues of all the emperor's hereditary dominions, it is evident that, admitting the reponſibility of the Low Countries, the proportion which would attach to them muſt be extremely inſignificant. Theſe demands, which appeared to the French government ſo juſt and reaſonable in themſelves, and

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ſo little injurious to England to grant, were refuſed in that ſpirit of diſingenuous cavil, which ſeemed to indicate, that lord Malmeſbury deemed it the firſt, if not the ſole, duty of an ambaſſador, to object to every propoſition that could be advanced, and to refrain from every conceſſion that might be required. Such were the unfavorable omens under which the diſcuſſion of the Engliſh *projet* commenced.

On the 13th of July a conference upon this ſubject was held between the Engliſh ambaſſador and the French commiſſioners; when the latter ſtated their objections to the *ſecond* article, importing the renewal of former treaties concluded at Nimeguen, Ryſwick, Utrecht, &c. &c. as containing many particulars ſuperfluous, irrelevant, and even diſcordant to the preſent order of things. The diſcuſſion was conducted with decorum and propriety, and it was at laſt agreed to enter into an attentive inveſtigation of the ſeveral treaties ſpecified, in order more clearly to aſcertain the force of the objection. The French miniſters ſaid, "that their ſincere and only deſire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be ſo framed as to ſecure permanency, the object for which it was intended:" and lord Malmeſbury rejoined, "that nothing could be ſo conſonant to his orders, or the intentions of his royal maſter."

On the 15th of July the ambaſſador received a note from the French legation, which certainly appeared, upon the face of it, very extraordinary—importing, that they had received freſh orders from Paris, requiring them to make the following declaration.—" There exiſt in the public and ſecret treaties by which the French republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, articles by which the three powers reſpectively guarantie the territories poſſeſſed by each of them before the war. The French government, unable to detach itſelf from the engagements which it has contracted by theſe treaties, eſtabliſhes, as an indiſpenſable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the conſent of his Britannic majeſty to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but, further and formally, of thoſe of Spain and the Batavian republic. In conſequence, the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary requeſt lord Malmeſbury to explain himſelf with regard to this reſtitution, and to conſent to it, if he is authorized to do ſo; if not, and in the contrary caſe, to ſend a meſſenger to his court, in order to procure the neceſſary powers."

Unqueſtionably the Directory were thrown into extreme ill-humour by the obſtinacy of lord Malmeſbury's oppoſition to the preliminary demands,

mands, and the deſpicable chicanery of his arguments. And, ſuſpecting the extent of his powers, which had been in the former inſtance ſo limited, and jealous that the court of London meant, as before, merely to trifle with them—which does not appear to have been the fact, for neceſſity had produced ſincerity, though it failed to create wiſdom—they had recourſe to this method of ſolving their doubts. Lord Malmeſbury properly replied, " that he had no heſitation in declaring to them that his *inſtructions* did by no means authorize him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration ſeemed intended to eſtabliſh;"—but, previous to ſending off a meſſenger to his court, his lordſhip propoſed a conference for the purpoſe of explanation. In this conference the French commiſſioners were unanimouſly of opinion that the demand of the Directory was by no means intended to preclude diſcuſſion: on the contrary, they invited propoſals from the ambaſſador, ſaying, " if they ſhould be found ſuch as it will be impoſſible for us to admit, we will, on our ſide, bring forward others for your court to deliberate upon."

Notwithſtanding this explanation of the commiſſioners, lord Grenville, in reply, (July 20) declares the claim in queſtion to be ſo extravagant as to afford a ſtrong preſumption of a deter-

mination to preclude all means of accommodation, and that nothing in this caſe remains but to oppoſe with energy a ſyſtem tending to perpetuate a ſtate of war in Europe. The letter of lord Grenville, which is a very long one, diſcovers an extreme deficiency in diplomatic ability. If the French government in the late note meant to include the inſtructions as well as powers of lord Malmeſbury, the negotiation muſt neceſſarily be at an end, the demand being equally abſurd and inſolent: if to his powers only, as the commiſſioners themſelves underſtood it, the difficulty was eaſily and at once obviated, by veſting in him the full powers required, and leaving him to his diſcretion,—or, if neceſſary, limiting him, by his inſtructions, in the exerciſe of thoſe powers. But the letter of lord Grenville conſiſts of a vehement declamation againſt a demand, which, in the ſenſe of the declaimer, was never intended to be made. Far, however, from bearing the marks of inſincerity, the letter diſcovers great anxiety that the negotiation ſhould proceed, even if the *projet* offered by England were wholly withdrawn, and that a diſpoſition on the part of France appeared rather to treat upon the baſis of a *contre-projet* of their own framing. And the treaty of Pilnitz having been mentioned in the courſe of the late conferences, lord Malmeſ-

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bury is expreſsly authorized to ſtate to the French commiſſioners, " that if any ſecret treaty was, in fact, concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late emperor and the king of Pruſſia —which (continues his lordſhip) is to ſay the leaſt very doubtful in point of fact—this, at leaſt, is certain, that his majeſty was no party to ſuch treaty, and not only was not then included in it, but has never ſince adhered to it, nor even been apprized of its contents."

The next conference between lord Malmeſbury and the French commiſſioners took place on the 23d of July. The French plenipotentiaries, after hearkening with great patience to the long harangue of the ambaſſador, founded on the letter of lord Grenville, engaged thata correct report of what he had ſaid ſhould be tranſmitted forthwith to the Directory; and they readily allowed the equity of the propoſition, either to accede to the *projet* offered by him, or to bring forward one of their own. But they aſſerted, " that as long as they were bound by their inſtructions not to give way on the propoſition now ſo decidedly rejected, it was impoſſible for them to move a ſtep without new orders from the Directory." A paper was, at the requeſt of the commiſſioners, put into their hands by lord Malmeſbury, ſtating, in mild language, the unreaſonableneſs of the demand made

by the Directory, and the impoſſibility of complying with it. This was a great political error; for the commiſſioners had already admitted the unreaſonableneſs of the demand, in the ſenſe ſo juſtly offenſive to the court of London; and had it been complied with in the ſenſe of the commiſſioners, the obſtacle which oppoſed itſelf to the farther progreſs of the negotiation would have been at once removed, and no poſſible inconvenience could have reſulted from the conceſſion.

The paper in queſtion being tranſmitted by the commiſſioners to the Directory, with their own report of the conference, an interval of no leſs than fourteen days paſſed over in ſilence. At length, on the 6th of Auguſt, the commiſſioners informed lord Malmeſbury, that they had received letters from Paris, informing them, that the Directory had taken the ſubject into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and would acquaint them as ſoon as poſſible with the reſult. On lord Malmeſbury's intimating how impoſſible it was that his Britannic majeſty ſhould not be hurt at this demur on ſo very ſimple a point, one of them ſaid, "You ought to augur favorably from it; your note was a refuſal to agree to what was ſtated by the Directory in their inſtructions to us as a *ſine qua non*.—If the Directory were determined to perſiſt in this *ſine qua non*, they would have

have ſaid ſo at once. The time they take to deliberate, indicates, beyond a doubt, that they are looking for ſome temperament."

On the 12th of Auguſt lord Malmeſbury again expreſſed to the commiſſioners his chagrin, "that day after day ſhould paſs without making a progreſs in the buſineſs for which they were met, and that it was material to make good the time they had loſt." The commiſſioners, in reply, declared "that he would not think it time loſt if he knew how it was applied.—We will not ſcruple to tell you, ſaid one of them, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are conſulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has paſſed here; we have ſtated, that, unleſs they mean to continue the war, they muſt releaſe us from our engagements, and enable us, in a certain degree, to meet your propoſals."

On the 28th of Auguſt the French plenipotentiaries informed lord Malmeſbury, "that the laſt anſwer from Holland was ſo unſatisfactory, that the Directory had ordered it to be referred to the Dutch government for explanation, which would induce ſome longer delay."

On the 4th of September the important event known by the name of the Revolution of Fructidor took place in Paris; and on the 11th of September the whole French legation was re-

called, and the citizens Treilhard and Bonnier appointed in their room, who arrived on the 13th. M. le Tourneur and his colleagues made, on parting, handſome compliments to lord Malmeſbury, on the *loyauté et franchiſe* with which he had acted during the whole of the negotiation. And it muſt be allowed that the language uſed by this ambaſſador, both in ſpeaking and writing, was uniformly mild and temperate; as his manners were alſo polite and pleaſing. His general deportment was open and honorable, and no juſt ſuſpicion of deceit can, on this occaſion at leaſt, attach either to his character or miſſion. He was deficient only in that ſuperiority of diſcernment, and intellectual comprehenſion, which, in circumſtances ſo new and critical, were eſſentially requiſite to the ends of his appointment—in that conſummate addreſs which can ſolve or ſever every difficulty, in order to attain the purpoſe it has in view.

In the very firſt conference held by lord Malmeſbury with the new plenipotentiaries, September 14, it was (ſays his lordſhip) declared by them "to be a conſideration of primary importance, in every negotiation, to aſcertain the extent of the powers with which the negotiators are veſted; that he would find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of our diſcuſſions that mine ſhould be equal-

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ly ſo, they had it in command to preſent a note, the object of which was, "to enquire whether I was authorized to treat on the principles of a general reſtitution." Lord Malmeſbury expreſſed his ſurprize at the repetition of this demand, and attempted, as in the former inſtance, to ſhew the extreme unreaſonableneſs of it, and how inevitably it muſt, if inſiſted upon, preclude all diſcuſſion or negotiation whatever. What lord Malmeſbury ſubjoins on this head is very remarkable: "I ſhall not (ſays his lordſhip) attempt to follow the French miniſter through the very elaborate, and certainly able, ſpeech he made in reply, with the view to convince me that the enquiry into the extent of my full powers was the ſtrongeſt proof the Directory could furniſh of their pacific intention, and the ſhorteſt road they could take to accompliſh the deſired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation—*activer* was his word—and to prevent its ſtagnating, that this demand was made ſo ſpecifically; and he intimated to me that it was impoſſible for the Directory to proceed till a full and ſatisfactory anſwer had been given to it. The avowal of having powers to a certain extent, he ſaid, did not imply the neceſſity of exerciſing them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take;—

that

that the note and the time preſcribed in it were in conſequence of the moſt poſitive orders from the Directory; and that if I drew from it a concluſion different from the aſſurances they had made me in the name of the Directory, I did not make the true inference."

It is really aſtoniſhing that, after M. Treilhard had ſo clearly explained the nature of the demand, lord Malmeſbury ſhould ſtill, in his reply, inſiſt "that their queſtion went not to the extent of his full powers, but to require of him the nature of his inſtructions.—The French miniſter (ſays his lordſhip) ſtrove to prove to me, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the diſcretionary authority confided in the miniſter by no means implied an intention to act up to its utmoſt limits: and he ſubjoined, 'in drawing up your anſwer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have uſed, or, in your report to your court, the aſſurances we have given of the earneſt wiſh of the Directory to terminate the war." And both plenipotentiaries—perhaps concerned that, by the order of their government, they were compelled to ſtand upon this *étiquette*—were moſt warm in their proteſtations that nothing could be leſs hoſtile than the ſpirit of their commiſſion, and that the idea of this negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as their wiſhes. At length

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the conference broke up without any favorable impreſſion made upon the mind of the Engliſh miniſter. An official note, containing the demand ſo obnoxious to the Engliſh court, was immediately tranſmitted to lord Malmeſbury; to which his lordſhip anſwered, "that he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compenſations." On the next day (September 16) another note arrived from the French commiſſioners, apprizing his lordſhip that a decree of the Directory had paſſed, ſignifying, "that in caſe lord Malmeſbury ſhall declare himſelf not to have the neceſſary powers for agreeing to all the reſtitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indiſpenſable, he ſhall be to return in four-and-twenty hours to his court, to aſk for ſufficient powers." To this lord Malmeſbury rejoined, "that he could return no other anſwer to a refuſal ſo abſolute to continue the negotiation, on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the neceſſary paſsports for himſelf and his ſuite."

The French commiſſioners, in reply, ſay "they think it right to obſerve to lord Malmeſbury, that he does not appear to have ſeized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains a refuſal to continue the negotiations, but,

but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a ſucceſs no leſs deſirable to the two nations than it would be flattering to the miniſters charged with the conduct of them. The French government is ſo far from entertaining the intentions which the note of lord Malmeſbury appears to impute to them, that the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have received no order to quit Liſle after the departure of the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty." —The Engliſh ambaſſador, in his anſwer (Sept. 17) to this obſervation, ſtill perſiſts in his unfortunate *blunder*,—for it deſerves no ſofter appellation,—and again repeats what had been a hundred times before ſaid, and as often refuted; "that the queſtion between them, in appearance, relates ſolely to the limits of his full powers, which are in the moſt ample form; but does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his inſtructions."—This fatal miſtake was the more remarkable, as M. Treilhard had taken infinite pains to demonſtrate to him the difference between theſe two things; and had expreſsly ſaid, and reiterated, that they did not mean to enquire into his inſtructions; and in the moſt intelligible manner intimated that they did not expect him to act up to the extent of his powers.

Lord

Lord Malmeſbury deſiring one other meeting previous to his departure, a conference for the laſt time took place on the 17th at noon. Nothing however paſſed at this conference, but a tireſome repetition of the former arguments, and renewed proteſtations from the French commiſſioners, "that the intention of the Directory was to accelerate peace, by removing every obſtacle to its attainment."—From a particular expreſſion dropped by lord Malmeſbury, nevertheleſs, in this conference, it appears ſufficiently evident that his powers were not of the full and ample nature required by the Directory: for he tells us, "that he dwelt particularly and repeatedly on his own competency to take any thing ſaid by the French commiſſioners for REFERENCE." This was the very evil which the Directory meant to avoid, and which had occaſioned ſo much delay and difficulty in the former negotiation at Paris. And one of the commiſſioners remarked upon it, "that the full powers which authoriſed a miniſter to *hear* propoſals were widely from thoſe which would enable him to *accede* to them, and that it was ſuch full powers that the Directory required him to ſolicit*." The ambaſſador, equally unable and unwilling

* Lord Bolingbroke, in a letter to the duke of Shrewſbury, May 29, 1713, ſays—"I obſerved to count Gyllenburg, that the

unwilling to give satisfaction to the French commissioners as to this demand, set off from Lisle the next morning, on his return to England.

From the pertinacious manner in which the French government persisted in this demand, it is easy to infer the extreme distrust which the Directory entertained of the ultimate purposes of England. Some sacrifices were inevitable on the part of the allies; but the reluctance of the Dutch to part with their favorite settlements of the Cape and Ceylon was extreme; and if the powers of the English ambassador were limited as to the grand article of restitution, all the address of the French negotiators to obtain more favorable conditions for Holland must have been altogether unavailing. Instructions admitted of much greater latitude, and would be much more easily varied, according to circumstances: and the Directory were unwilling to urge upon the Dutch government the necessity of concession, till they had some clear proofs of the conciliatory disposition, as well as of the sincerity, of the English court, which had so ob-

the Swedish ministers, who should be appointed to treat, should be furnished with ABSOLUTE POWERS. I convinced him that these would draw into no consequence which the king needed to apprehend; since, by private instructions to his ministers, he might direct them to make what use he should think fit of the authority delegated to them."

BOLINGBROKE *Correspondence*, Vol. II.

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ſtinately reſiſted the preliminary demands of France. Such at leaſt is the moſt probable ſolution of the directorial policy, as diſplayed in the courſe of this momentous tranſaction.

The conduct of lord Malmeſbury was highly approved and applauded, as he had indeed a right to expect, by the court of London, from whom he received immediate orders, on his arrival in England, to open one other diſpatch to the commiſſioners at Liſle, conformably to the draft ſent him by lord Grenville. In this letter it was again prepoſterouſly aſſerted, "that the demand of the Directory refers not to the full powers of the ambaſſador, but to the extent of his inſtructions;—that it is therefore only by conſenting to treat upon the baſis of the *projet* preſented by the ambaſſador, or by returning a *contre-projet* of a conciliatory nature, that it appears poſſible to continue the negotiation."—The French plenipotentiaries, after the tranſmiſſion of this note to the French government, anſwer (October 1), "that when the Directory ordered its miniſters to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the Engliſh government to its ambaſſador, they had no other object than to bring the negotiation to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue;—that ſuch are STILL the hopes and intentions of the Executive Directory, which enjoins the miniſters plenipotentiary

tentiary of the republic not to quit Liſle till the continued abſence of the negotiator ſhall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic majeſty to break off all negotiation."

On the 5th of October this extraordinary correſpondence was terminated by a note from lord Malmeſbury to the French commiſſioners, written in terms of ſome aſperity; and declaring "that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the Directory, and which at this moment is only ſuſpended by its act.—With regard to the renewal of the conferences, (continues the ambaſſador) the underſigned can only refer to his laſt note, where he has explained, with frankneſs and preciſion, the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation; obſerving, at the ſame time, that the king could no longer treat in an enemy's country without being certain that the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed amongſt all civilized nations, with regard to public miniſters, and eſpecially to thoſe charged to negotiate for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, would be reſpected for the future in the perſon of his plenipotentiary."

Immediately after the termination of this unfortunate negotiation, a declaration was iſſued by the king of England, in which his majeſty

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was ſo ill adviſed as to aſſert, and probably ſo ill informed as to believe, "that France had not ſcrupled to demand the abſolute and unconditional ſurrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valor of his fleets and armies, have conquered during the preſent war: nor was even this demand brought forward as conſtituting the terms of peace, but as the price of negotiation, as the condition on which alone his majeſty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were ſtill reſerved, and to what greater ſacrifices theſe unprecedented conceſſions of honor and ſafety were to lead *."

In

* "To any other ambaſſador than lord Malmeſbury," ſays the very able author of the 'QUESTION STATED' (p. 17), "the French probably would not have thought it neceſſary to put the queſtion, 'Whether he had, or had not, powers to treat on the principle of general reſtitution, &c.?' They had not forgotten, that, in his former ambaſſy, 'at every communication he was in want of the advice of his court †.'—Lord Malmeſbury ſays, 'that their queſtion went not to the extent of his full powers, but to require of him to declare the nature of his inſtructions.' In the firſt place, he anſwers their queſtion in a ſenſe *materially* different from that which they attached to it: he then affirms, that the extent of his powers, and the nature of his inſtructions, are one and the ſame thing. But for this he aſſigns no reaſon; nor does he at all ſpecify or intimate what the inconvenience or diſadvantage would have been if he had given them a direct anſwer in the affirmative, which he might have done in the terms of lord Grenville's official note of the 17th of June; viz. 'That his full powers

† De la Croix, December 19, 1796.

In ſpeaking of the points which the plenipotentiaries of the enemy propoſed for ſeparate diſcuſſion in their firſt conference with the Engliſh ambaſſador, his majeſty ſtyles them "at once frivolous and offenſive, none of them productive of any ſolid advantage to France; but all calculated to raiſe new obſtacles in the way of peace." Doubtleſs all demands, juſt or unjuſt, made by an enemy in the courſe of any negotiation, may, in a general ſenſe, be regarded as raiſing new obſtacles in the way of peace. But how the requiſition of the French republic to the king of Great Britain, to deſiſt from the vain and fooliſh aſſumption of the title of King of France, could, in any rational ſenſe, be conſidered as offenſive, or even as frivolous, is not eaſy to divine; and ſtill leſs how the reſtoration of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or the renunciation of a mortgage on their revenues, ſhould not be productive of ſolid advantage to France.—The royal declaration concludes with the aſſertion, highly laudable had the ſincerity of it remained unimpeached, "that, though his majeſty's wiſhes and endeavours to reſtore peace

included *every* caſe, and gave him *the moſt unlimited authority* to conclude any articles, treaties, &c. or, in the very terms of their own demand, underſtand according to the explanation with which it was accompanied.'—If he had ſaid YES, the negotiation muſt have proceeded, and poſſibly might have ended with ſucceſs."

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to his ſubjects had proved fruitleſs, his ſentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may ſhew a diſpoſition and ſpirit in any way correſponding to his own."

Amid the civil commotions which agitated France at this period, the fathers of the Gallican church, who had conformed to the ſevere injunctions of the conſtitution on eccleſiaſtical points, had ventured once more to aſſemble, in order to deliberate on a mode or plan of conciliation, to repair and cement ſuch genuine parts of this ſacred edifice as had been ſhattered by the rude and ſavage hand of perſecuting power. The paſt and preſent ſtate of the church was laid before this venerable body. Amongſt other lamentable inſtances of apoſtacy were mentioned the marriages of twelve biſhops; twelve others had abdicated their ſeats; eight had periſhed on the ſcaffold; one, the biſhop of Dol, who had acted in a military capacity, had been ſhot as a rebel *;" and of the emigrant biſhops forty had died in foreign countries. After attempting to re-organize the ad-

* Had the biſhop of Dol been reclaimed as a ſon of the church by the father of the faithful, his coat of mail might, agreeably to a famous hiſtorical anecdote, have been transmitted to the holy pontiff with the queſtion ſubjoined, "Say whether this be thy ſon's coat or no?"

miniſtration of the church, the next ſolicitude of theſe biſhops was to call back their brethren who had wandered from the fold. The general anſwers given by the incivic clergy were comprized in a few words; ſuch as "wolves," "forſwearers," "intruders," "robbers," "heretics," "ſchiſmatics," according to the report of Grégoire, conſtitutional biſhop of Blois, who alone, as he declares, had the patience to read over the enormous collection of three thouſand pacquets laid before the ſynod.

The firſt acts of this council were, the publication of a ſynodical letter to the paſtors and to the faithful, on the means of eſtabliſhing religious peace; and another addreſſed to the biſhops and prieſts reſident in France, who had ſeparated from the national communion. It was propoſed that a general oblivion ſhould cover all former diſſentions, and that the acknowledged tenets of the Chriſtian church ſhould alone be the preſcribed articles of belief, whatever might have been their opinions on the queſtions which had divided the church of France. Amongſt theſe articles the council numbered the grand poſitions;—that the Pope is the viſible head of the church on earth; that he poſſeſſes thereby the primacy of honor and juriſdiction; and that all Chriſtians are bound implicitly to receive the dogmas promulgated by the

the catholic and univerſal church, and to condemn all the errors which it has proſcribed.

Although the French government did not, and, according to the acknowledged principles of toleration, could not, interpoſe to prevent the deliberations and acts of an aſſembly which cautiouſly reſtrained its proceedings within the limits of the law and conſtitution, they regarded nevertheleſs thoſe proceedings with a jealous eye; and, with a view of counter-acting the latent fanaticiſm of the vulgar religion, the Directory gave great encouragement to a new ſect, recently eſtabliſhed under the name of Theophilanthropiſts; one of the members of the directorial board, La Réveillière Lepaux, declaring himſelf openly a patron and protector of it. Theſe religioniſts, rejecting all revelation, confined their worſhip to one ſupreme being: and, gradually increaſing in number, they at length took poſſeſſion, by permiſſion of the municipalities, of very many of the public churches—occupied, alſo, at other hours of the ſame day, by the Catholics: and the offering of the wheaten ear and the *bouquet* of flowers to the divinity, as preſcribed by the elegant though already ſuperſtitious ritual of the new ſect, was preceded, or followed, by the myſtic and ſumptuous rites of the Romiſh church.

From the period of the ſignature of the pre-

liminaries of Leoben, general Buonaparte had been deeply engaged in regulating the interior or political concerns of Italy. Conferences had long ſince been opened at the village of Campo Formio, near Udina, with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, with a view to a definitive treaty, which was at length concluded on the 17th of October, 1797. By the terms of this treaty the former preliminary articles were confirmed, but with the addition of a new one, which excited great aſtoniſhment and indignation in Europe. This was the ceſſion, by France, to his Imperial majeſty of the city of Venice, and the whole of the Venetian territory eaſtward of the Adige; and a line paſſing through the Lake de' Guarda, including that part of Iſtria, Dalmatia, &c. formerly belonging to the Venetian republic:— the valuable iſlands in the Levant, Corfu, Zante, Cephalenia, &c. being allotted, in this diviſion of ſpoils, to France. Thoſe who were attached to the antient *régime* were exaſperated at the diſſolution of the regular and long-eſtabliſhed government of Venice, and ſcandalized at the facility and even eagerneſs with which the emperor, who had entered into the war as the champion of civil and ſocial order, and the defender of the political relations of Europe againſt the common deſtroyer, graſped at his ſhare of the golden ſpoil. This was a tranſaction which admitted

admitted of no gloſs, and exhibited itſelf to the perception of all as an act of unprincipled and profligate rapacity *. — On the other hand, France had made voluntary and prodigal profeſſions of protection and fraternity to all thoſe nations which ſuffered under oppreſſion, and were deſirous to embrace the bleſſings of liberty. Inſtead of acting in a manner correſpondent to her profeſſions, and re-conſtructing the fallen government of the Venetians on principles of juſtice and equity, ſhe now treacherouſly transferred to the Auſtrian deſpotiſm a people over whom ſhe poſſeſſed no other right or power excepting that which always appertains to the ſtrongeſt. The Venetians themſelves were ſtruck with conſternation at this unlooked-for proceeding. Not only had the inhabitants of the Venetian ſtates indulged the idea of exchanging their oligarchical regimen for the bleſſings of a free government, but they had actually named, under the ſanction of the French general, in almoſt

* "The coaleſced powers (ſays Mr. Burke) were eaſily taught to ſlide back into their old habitual ſchool of politics, and to conſider the flames that were conſuming France as an happy occaſion for pillaging the goods, and carrying off the materials, of their neighbour's houſe."

'REGICIDE PEACE.'

To accuſe the coaleſced powers of *ſliding back* into their old habits ſeems unjuſt—it does not appear that they ever relinquiſhed them.

every commune, proviſionary authorities, and taken every ſtep for the formation of a republic founded on equal rights. It was therefore with burſts of indignation and deſpair that they heard of that article of the definitive treaty which conſigned them to Auſtria; and it was ſaid that general Buonaparte himſelf yielded with great reluctance to the ſacrifice, and only in obedience to the poſitive orders of the Directory, who could not be ſuppoſed regardful of thoſe ſacred rights in other communities which they had with unhallowed and parricidal hands well-nigh extinguiſhed in their own.

By a ſecret but important article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, with ſome adjoining diſtricts of Bavaria, making the river Inn the boundary on that ſide of the Auſtrian territory, was alſo allotted to the emperor;—all which tract of country, as well as his Venetian acquiſitions, were ſo conveniently ſituated, and coaleſced ſo well with the general maſs of the Imperial dominions, as to form much more than a compenſation for the remote and inſulated provinces which he had loſt.

The treaty of Campo Formio being concluded with the emperor only, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, the pacification of the empire with the French republic was referred to a congreſs

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to be held at Raſtadt. The organization of the new Cisalpine republic, agreeably to the model of France, was by this time completed, and all places of truſt and dignity filled according to the *recommendation* of general Buonaparte, who made, at the inſtallment of the executive government, an able and eloquent ſpeech, exhorting them, "now they had attained to liberty, to conduct themſelves in ſuch a manner as to become worthy of their high deſtiny, in making only wiſe and moderate laws, and executing them with force and energy, by favoring the diffuſion of knowledge, and reſpecting the rights of conſcience." The new and friendleſs monarch of Sardinia was ſtill left in nominal poſſeſſion of Piedmont, at the price of entering into a ſtrict alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with France.—At the latter end of November general Buonaparte left Italy; and, taking his journey through Berne and Raſtadt, receiving everywhere the higheſt honors, this extraordinary perſonage arrived at Paris near the end of the year, leaving the commiſſioners, Treilhard and Bonnier, to repreſent the republic in the congreſs, which was to open on the 1ſt of January enſuing (A. D. 1798).

The ratification by the Directory of the treaty of Udina, or Campo-Formio, as it was more uſually ſtyled, was followed by a proclamation, addreſſed

addreſſed to the armies, in which it was obſerved, "that although ſo much had been done, ſo many kings conquered, ſo many people ſet free, and the republic itſelf eſtabliſhed by the valor of its arms, yet the country expected one more ſacrifice; ſince the enemy, who had been the original cauſe of all the horrors and miſeries which they had ſufffered, both from foreign and civil war, remained yet to be cruſhed; and that the ſafety of the republic was endangered whilſt the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT exiſted." This declaration was followed by two reſolutions: 1ſt, That an army ſhould be immediately aſſembled on the coaſts of the Channel, under the name of the Army of England; and, 2dly, That general Buonaparte ſhould be appointed the commander-in-chief.

On the injudicious recall of Mr. Monroe, the American ambaſſador, from France, the Directory refuſed to receive the credentials of Mr. Pinckney, his ſucceſſor, until their grievances were redreſſed; and in the month of January, 1797, that miniſter received formal notice to quit the territory of the republic; in conſequence of which order he accordingly retired to Amſterdam. At the opening of the enſuing ſeſſion of the congreſs at Philadelphia, in the ſpring of 1797, the new preſident, Mr. Adams, declared it "to be his ſincere deſire to preſerve peace

peace and friendſhip with all nations; and that, believing neither the honor nor the intereſt of the United States abſolutely to forbid the repetition of advances for ſecuring theſe deſirable objects with France, he ſhould inſtitute a freſh attempt at negotiation." Three commiſſioners were named for the purpoſe—Mr. Marſhall and Mr. Gerry being joined with general Pinckney. Theſe gentlemen were allowed to remain quietly at Paris, but could make little or no progreſs towards an accommodation of differences. The ſpirit of intrigue, extravagance, and corruption, at this period, pervaded every branch of the directorial government, which was diſtinguiſhed only by its tyranny, its imbecillity, and rapacity. After the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, ſcarcely did this government deign to attempt the concealment of its vices. At a conference, held by the commiſſioners in the month of October (1797) with a confidential friend and agent of the miniſter of foreign relations, Talleyrand, that perſon expatiated largely on the animoſity diſcovered by the American preſident, in his ſpeech to the congreſs, againſt the French republic—and on the keen reſentment which it had excited in France; ſaying, that ſatisfaction was indiſpenſably neceſſary previous to negotiation: "But (ſaid he), gentlemen, I will

will not diſguiſe from you, that, this ſatisfaction being made, the eſſential part of the treaty remains to be adjuſted—*Il faut de l'argent*; *il faut beaucoup de l'argent*."—He affirmed, "that the Directory were jealous of their *own* honor; jealous of the honor of the NATION; and this honor muſt be maintained, unleſs we ſubſtituted, in place of the reparations demanded, ſomething perhaps more valuable—*that was* MONEY! There were to the amount of 32 millions of florins of Dutch inſcriptions, which, if the commiſſioners would engage to take as a ſecurity for a loan to the ſame amount, it would be a great accommodation. There ſhall (ſaid he) be firſt taken from the loan certain ſums for the purpoſe of making the cuſtomary diſtributions in diplomatic affairs. This ſum, according to diplomatic uſage, he eſtimated at about 1,200,000 livres." The commiſſioners replied, "that the American government would have ſuppoſed ſuch a propoſition, if made by them, would have given mortal offence." He aſked (ſay the commiſſioners in their official account of this conference) "if our government did not know that nothing was to be obtained here without money?" The commiſſioners anſwered, "that ſuch a ſtate of things was not even ſuſpected." He appeared ſurprized at it, and ſaid, "there

was

was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information *." The commiſſioners refuſing with diſdain theſe ignominious conditions of peace, the negotiation remained entirely ſuſpended: and the preſident, Mr. Adams, in a meſſage to the congreſs (March 1798), with good reaſon declared, "that he perceived no ground of expectation that the objects of their miſſion could be accompliſhed on terms compatible with the ſafety, honor, or the eſſential intereſts of the nation."

M. d'Aranjo, ambaſſador from Portugal at Paris, had been this ſummer employed in negotiating a ſeparate peace, and had actually concluded a treaty on the 10th of Auguſt, which was to be ratified in two months,—a period which was, no doubt, by the court of Liſbon deemed ſufficient to determine the iſſue of the negotiation depending between France and England. The negotiation breaking off, and the treaty conſequently not being ratified, it was declared by the Directory null and void, and M. d'Aranjo ordered to quit the territories of the republic. But lingering, probably for ſome purpoſe of political intrigue, beyond the time ſpecified in the order, he was, by an extraordinary ſtretch of power, committed priſoner to the

* Vide "Official Narrative of the Commiſſioners."

Temple;

Temple; whence, however, he was releaſed, after no long interval of confinement or ſufferance.

In the courſe of the preſent year died the celebrated Daniſh miniſter, count Bernſtorf, deeply lamented by his countrymen, and all the friends of peace and humanity throughout Europe. Diligent and indefatigable in buſineſs, he had a ready conception, and a happy manner of expreſſing his ideas. An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleaſure, firm, ſagacious, beneficent—never was any ſtateſman more univerſally admired and revered. Eaſy of acceſs, ſimple in his manners, with a temper always equal, communicative, and affable—never was any man in his individual capacity more eſteemed and beloved. The affranchiſement of the Daniſh peaſants, the abolition of the negro trade, the acquiſition of Holſtein, and the calm wiſdom with which he ſteered the veſſel of the ſtate amid the ſtorms and tempeſts which agitated Europe for the laſt ſeven eventful years of revolution and war, will render his adminiſtration for ever memorable in Denmark.

In the month of November this year a perſonage of a very different deſcription, Frederic-William II. king of Pruſſia, departed this life. During his reign, which laſted eleven years, Pruſſia maintained her full influence as a political

tical power in Europe; though his ability for government did not rise above the royal accomplishment of KING-CRAFT, or what is in other men styled *cunning*. The fabric of Prussian greatness had indeed been constructed with a master-hand; nor were the same talents requisite for maintaining as for erecting the edifice. His general conduct participated more of the rapacity of a robber than the ardor of a hero—all was mean, selfish, and contracted; nor can the nearest view detect one virtue to mitigate the horror with which every honest man must contemplate the conspirator of Pilnitz and the plunderer of Poland.

Since the commencement of the present war, a proclamation had issued every year for the observance of a FAST; and a service composed for the occasion by the bishops was ordered to be read in the churches—many of the offices contained in which were by some thought rather calculated to inflame the minds of the ignorant multitude against the enemy, than to impress upon them sentiments of penitence, devotion, or humanity; and the general strain of them better adapted to the character of priests of MOLOCH than of CHRIST.—"We prostrate ourselves before thee"—such is the language of the first morning collect of this pious ritual—"in earnest prayer and supplication, in behalf of

of ourſelves and other Chriſtian nations, expoſed at this time to the cruelty or groaning under the oppreſſion of apoſtates from thy truth, and deſpiſers of thy holy name, who have ſpread deſolation wherever they have erected their ſtandard."—And in a certain form of words, called A PRAYER for our ENEMIES! we find the following meek and benevolent expreſſions:—"Suffer us, we beſeech thee, in the ſpirit of Chriſtian charity, to offer our humble interceſſions for the repentance and converſion of men who have caſt off their faith in thee the living GOD, and, following the vain imaginations of reprobate minds, have plunged themſelves into crimes and impieties which aſtoniſh the Chriſtian world.—Open their eyes, O LORD!—Strike them, in thy mercy, with remorſe and compunction," &c. &c.

At the end of the preſent year, Providence having declared ſo openly and decidedly in our favor by the late naval victories, it was determined by his majeſty to go, attended by the two houſes of parliament, and the great officers of ſtate, (December 19) in religious and triumphal proceſſion, to the cathedral of St. Paul, in order to offer up a public and national thankſgiving for the ſame. The flags and colours taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, accompanied with bands of muſic, &c. were borne in

in ſolemn pomp to the cathedral, and depoſited with holy exultation upon the altar. After which a ſermon was preached by the lord biſhop of Lincoln, fraught with ſuch ſentiments of ſelf-abaſement, contrition, and humanity, as the following:—"Where will be found ſuch ſtrict adherence to public faith, ſuch impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, ſuch fidelity in the concerns of private life, ſuch liberal attention to the poor, ſuch kindneſs to the ſtranger, ſuch generoſity to the priſoner, as in this country? While our enemies have inſulted the MAJESTY of HEAVEN, WE have HUMBLED ourſelves before GOD, and ACKNOWLEDGED our TRANSGRESSIONS.—While THEY have impiouſly denied his all-controling power, WE have prayed unto the Lord to give wiſdom to our councils, ſucceſs to our arms, and ſteadineſs to our people, and he has heard us!—The banners which you have this day ſeen preſented at the altar of this cathedral-church of the metropolis, as the moſt public teſtimony of DEVOUT and HUMBLE gratitude to the Supreme Diſpoſer of Events, are not the trophies of a ſingle victory over one enemy, but of a ſeries of victories equally brilliant and important over the three nations of Europe moſt diſtinguiſhed for their maritime power.—Our naval ſtrength, raiſed to an height unknown at any former period, not only exceeds that of

every rival neighbour, but has compelled each, in his turn, to ſubmit to our ſuperiority*."

Bowing with reverential awe to the grand religious and philoſophical concluſion, that an inviſible and incomprehenſible Power, the firſt and ſole cauſe of all things, exiſting from eternity, filling immenſity, and infinite in all perfections, does not diſdain, from the ſublime elevation of his heavenly throne, to caſt his view upon this lower world, and account it no derogation from his ineffable dignity to contemplate the miſerable contentions of the frail and erring race of man,—ſurely ſo tranſcendently excellent a Being muſt regard with diſpleaſure whatever has a tendency to diſturb the moral order, happineſs, and harmony, of his creation ;—and wars of pride, ambition, and revenge, whe-

* The paſſionate deſire of the court, and of the clergy connected with the court, to repreſent the preſent war as a war of religion, is very remarkable. The cauſe of religion, it has been well obſerved, is a modern motive to war, invented by the Chriſtian prieſthood refining upon the Heathen. The extreme callouſneſs of the higher orders of the clergy, in general, to the miſeries of mankind, is indeed a ſtriking feature of the profeſſion. Wholly abſorbed in the exalted feelings of devotion, they riſe far ſuperior to thoſe of humanity. Who can forget that, to the very lateſt period of the American conteſt, the venerable Shipley only, of the twenty-ſix Engliſh biſhops, gave his vote againſt the court : and that the liberal and enlightened Watſon alone in the preſent times, half fearful and half aſhamed, ventured an opinion againſt the French cruſade ?

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ther ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, muſt equally excite the divine anger and indignation,—more eſpecially when they profanely and impudently aſſume the name of Wars of juſtice, neceſſity, and religion—with vain and gaudy pageantry invoking his Almighty name, and boaſting the ſanction of his ſacred and ſupreme authority.

" Can I be flatter'd with thy cringing bows,
Thy ſolemn chatterings, and fantaſtic vows?
Are my eyes charm'd thy veſtments to behold,
Glaring in gems, and gay in woven gold?
Unthinking wretch! how could'ſt thou hope to pleaſe
A GOD, a SPIRIT, with ſuch toys as theſe!"

BOOK XVIII.

Session of Parliament 1797–8. *Secession of the Majority of the Members in Opposition. Debates on the Address. Papers relative to the Negotiation at Lisle laid before Parliament. Conduct of Ministers approved. Warlike Ardor of the Nation revives. Restrictions upon the Bank continued. Annual Statement of Finance. Triple Assessment imposed. Defective Plan for the Redemption of the Land-Tax. Voluntary Contributions to the War. Invasion threatened by France. Vigorous Preparations for the National Defence. Duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney. Motion of Mr. Wilberforce for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. Address to the Throne moved by the Duke of Bedford. Debates on the State of Ireland. Twelve Regiments of English Militia sent to Ireland. Patriotic Spirit displayed by the British Nation. Affairs of Ireland investigated. Irish Catholics engage in a criminal Intercourse with France. Dreadful Situation of the Kingdom. Conciliatory Proposition of the Earl of Moira. Progress of the Irish Conspiracy. Trial of Arthur O'Connor. Arrest of the Irish Directory. Rebellion in Ireland. Rebels defeated at New Ross — And at Enniscorthy. Earl Cornwallis appointed Chief Governor. Rebellion suppressed in the South. Extreme Bigotry of the Irish Catholics. Rebellion suppressed in the North. Civil and Judicial Proceedings. French Force lands in the Bay of Killala. Rebellion in the West—Suppressed by Lord Cornwallis. Surrender of the French. Naval Victory gained by Sir J. B. Warren on the Coast of Ulster. Miscellaneous Transactions on the Continent. Insurrection at Rome. Death of General Duphot. Subversion of the Papal Government. Re-establishment of the Roman Republic. Affairs of*

Switzerland—Hostile Demands of the French Directory—Invasion of the French under General Brune—Patriotic Resistance of the Democratic Cantons—Reduction of Switzerland by the French. State of Affairs in France. Election of Treilhard as a Member of the Directory. Incapacity and Oppression of the Directorial Government. Affairs of Holland—Partial Change in the Government. Disastrous Expedition of the English, under General Coote, to Ostend. Island of Minorca captured. Port-au-Prince, in St. Domingo, evacuated by the English. Domestic Occurrences. Mr. Fox struck out of the List of Privy Counsellors. Prosecution of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. Invasion of Egypt under General Buonaparte. Victory of the Pyramids. Capture of Grand Cairo. Total Defeat of the French Fleet by Admiral Nelson at Aboukir—Extraordinary Effects resulting from that Event. Proceedings of the Congress at Rastadt. Revival of the War in Germany and in Italy. Neapolitan Army enters Rome. Defeat of the Neapolitans. Capua surrenders to the French. Naples taken by Storm. Subversion of the Regal Government. Treaty between Great Britain and Russia. Wise Conduct of the King of Prussia.

THE parliament met on the 2d of November, 1797. His majesty expressed his confidence, "that the papers laid before the two houses would prove, to them and to the world, that every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace: and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of those with whom we have to contend; and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms." At the

the concluſion of the ſpeech, however, his majeſty, after exhorting the two houſes to the moſt animated exertions, declared "that he retained an ardent deſire for the concluſion of peace, on ſafe and honorable terms."

When the king's ſpeech came to be taken into conſideration by the commons, the houſe preſented a ſingular and melancholy appearance—the benches of oppoſition being in a manner deſerted. Wearied and diſguſted with attending, year after year, merely to be out-voted in the houſe, and reviled with every expreſſion of contumely and reproach by the miniſterial hirelings out of the houſe, as the ſecret enemies of their country, who, from the moſt culpable motives, were employed in counter-acting the efforts of a wiſe and beneficent government in a criſis of public danger,—ſeeing no proſpect of awakening the nation to that deep and juſt ſenſe of their condition which was neceſſary in order to render them laſting and eſſential ſervice,—they determined, with few exceptions, to withdraw from the conteſt, and, ſince their counſel was rejected, not to perſiſt in a fatiguing, inceſſant, and fruitleſs oppoſition. Upon theſe grounds was the nation deprived of the benefit derivable from the clear underſtanding and accurate judgment of a GREY, of the impreſſive and animated effuſions of a WHITBREAD, of the

keen penetration and brilliant eloquence of a SHERIDAN, and, above all, from the majeſtic and commanding genius of a FOX.

The addreſs moved by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle did not, however, paſs altogether unnoticed. Mr. Bryan Edwards, a name well known, and highly reſpected in the political and literary world, obſerved, "that the preſent war had been attended with a waſte of wealth and prodigality of blood not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of human depravity. Two hundred millions of money had been the expenditure of four years, and not leſs than two hundred thouſand the lives that have been loſt. And what proſpect did the king's ſpeech hold out to us? Was it indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future? No; it menaced us with more carnage, more ſighs, more tears, and perhaps deeper, of mothers, widows, and children. But had no efforts, it might be aſked, been made to obtain peace? No; none ſuitable to the occaſion, none founded in ſincerity, and breathing the genuine ſpirit of concord. The terms (he ſaid) which the French would have granted at the firſt miſſion of lord Malmeſbury were ſuch as the miniſter would now gladly accept. He would then be ſatisfied with the reſtitution of Belgium; and the ſafety of England was ſacrificed to the intereſt of the emperor. As to

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the ſecond miſſion, it would have been, in his opinion, an happy circumſtance, if that noble lord had been empowered at the outſet to make the offer of reſtitution demanded by France. He conceived that the foreign territories poſſeſſed by Great Britain, previous to the war, fully ſufficed for every purpoſe both of commerce and ſecurity. At all events they were not of that value which would juſtify the hazard and loſs which we muſt ſuſtain by a farther proſecution of the war." Mr. Edwards concluded his ſpeech with lamenting the abſence of Mr. Fox, and expreſſing his fears leſt this diſtinguiſhed patriot had retired, oppreſſed with prophetic anguiſh, and deſpairing, under the preſent ſyſtem, of the ſalvation of the country.

Mr. Wilberforce acknowledged himſelf " far from participating in the poignant grief expreſſed for the abſence of Mr. Fox, except indeed it could be proved that his preſence could extricate the country from the difficulties in which it was involved. Every body knew that the nation was in a critical ſituation; and he ſhould therefore, for himſelf, purſue a line of conduct the reverſe of that adopted by Mr. Fox and his friends. He would punctually attend to the diſcharge of his duty, and, however diſcouraging the proſpect, would exert his beſt abilities to perform

perform it from an inward ſenſe of right, not biaſſed by motives of *perſonal ambition*." Paſſing from this moſt malignant inſinuation to the motion before the houſe, he declared "the addreſs to be ſuch as all deſcriptions of gentlemen might conſent to, who were ſenſible of the bleſſings of our conſtitution. Miniſters were ſincerely ſolicitous for the reſtoration of peace, but were equally ready vigorouſly to proſecute the war, if the ambition and obſtinacy of the enemy reduced us to it. As Engliſhmen, we ſhould feel it our duty to ſtand at our poſt to the laſt; nor imitate the example of thoſe, who, under circumſtances of difficulty and danger, would puſillanimouſly deſert it."

Mr. Nichols aſked how long the calamities of war were to be endured by the people of Great Britain, for the ſake of ſecuring the Cape and Ceylon to the Eaſt-India Company? Whilſt our ears were ſtunned with public rejoicings for victories which availed little, our finances required the moſt ſerious attention. From July 1796, to July 1797, an addition of 2,600,000*l.* appeared in the dividends of the three-per-cents. which was equal to an addition of eighty-ſeven millions and a half of capital. Miniſters had long been tried, and tried to no purpoſe; and we owed it as a duty to his majeſty, to recommend to him a change of them." The addreſs, after

after various other ſpeeches, was carried without a diviſion.

In the houſe of lords the marquis of Lanſdown diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an able and animated ſpeech, in which he entreated their lordſhips "to ſurrender up their prejudices, and conſider the danger of their ſituation. The reſtoration of peace was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſalvation of the country; and, if his majeſty would deign to enquire into the moſt likely method of obtaining it, every honeſt man would tell him it was by a change of miniſters. May we not with reaſon," argued his lordſhip, "ſuppoſe the Directory to ſay, 'We have convinced the powers on the continent of Europe of the folly of the cruſade they undertook againſt us. We have ſent armies into the field, whoſe victories have ſurpaſſed thoſe of ancient Rome. We are ſecure in the enjoyment of our liberties, and have enlarged the limits of our territory. One obſtinate nation only, under hot-headed councils, perſiſts in its attack upon us, charging us with every ſpecies of atrocity, and denouncing us to the world as the authors of a war which has deluged Europe in blood. This power is at length brought to embarraſſments which it can neither palliate nor conceal. It ſtands on a tottering baſe, and is ready to ſink under the violence of its own efforts. Shall we yield to this

this inſulated foe, who, even in aſking peace, means hoſtility?' Such, while the preſent miniſters guide the councils of the country (ſaid his lordſhip) muſt be the feelings, and ſuch the language, of the French government. When lord Malmeſbury was firſt ſent to Paris, a hoſtile treaty was negotiating with Ruſſia. The ſecond negotiation at Liſle was accompanied by that counter-revolutionary inſurrection in the interior of France which produced the convulſion of the 4th of September, and in which they ſaid they diſcovered the hand of the Engliſh miniſter. The French government had openly aſſerted the fact: Did his majeſty's late declaration diſprove the charge? As to the terms of peace, his lordſhip ſaid that the Cape was an uſeleſs acquiſition, and Trincomale not worth retaining at the price of farther ſlaughter. We had gained the Eaſt without it; and to continue the war another campaign for the ſake of it would be to eſtimate its value at thirty millions. Let us (concluded his lordſhip) endeavour to regain the good opinion of Europe, which we have loſt by our pride and rapacity; let us proclaim freedom to neutral nations; and, by thus recognizing the commercial liberty of the world, we ſhould be the firſt to profit by it."

His lordſhip was ſupported by the duke of Norfolk, who declared his great diſſatisfaction with

with the terms of the addreſs, as he was far from being convinced "that every ſtep had been taken on his majeſty's part to accelerate peace," and no papers had been laid before them to juſtify ſuch an aſſertion. His grace therefore moved an amendment, which was over-ruled; and the addreſs, as originally moved by the earl of Glaſgow, paſſed without a diviſion.

On the 10th of November, the papers relative to the late negotiation being taken into conſideration by the commons, and an addreſs of thanks and approbation moved, ſir John Sinclair obſerved, "that the charges brought againſt the government of France in the preſent addreſs, and the late royal declaration, were not juſtified by the papers laid before the houſe. It was affirmed in the declaration, that the preliminary demands of France were frivolous and offenſive; but to this, on referring to the demands themſelves, he could not accede. It was farther ſtated, that it was not the wiſh of the French government to make peace; whereas the French plenipotentiaries had expreſſed the wiſhes of the Directory in the ſtrongeſt terms, and, as lord Malmeſbury acknowledged, had exerted themſelves ably to prove that the propoſition which had given ſo much offence was by no means inconſiſtent with their profeſſions.

profeſſions. France (he ſaid) was inveterate againſt us, becauſe we ſhewed ourſelves inveterate againſt her; and the Directory might poſſibly entertain a deſign to overturn our government, becauſe we had endeavoured to overturn theirs. To prevent the perpetuation of theſe ſentiments, he moved an amendment, expreſſive of the reſolution of that houſe to ſupport his majeſty in the war, to expunge the words denoting an inveterate animoſity, and to declare that, whenever France was diſpoſed to treat on reaſonable terms, we would not refuſe to negotiate."

The chancellor of the Exchequer expreſſed his concern and diſappointment that the opinion of the houſe ſhould not, on this occaſion, be unanimous, and pretended much ſurprize at the propoſed amendment of the honorable baronet. "The continuance of the war (he ſaid) was to be ſolely aſcribed to the implacable animoſity, to the inſatiable ambition, to the unwarrantable pretenſions, of the preſent frantic government of France. To them, not to us, were the guilt and the reſponſibility of future extremities to be imputed. Miniſters had exerted every effort to procure peace; and, from the commencement of the negotiation to its final rupture, the whole of the intermediate delay was owing to the evaſive conduct of France. Sincerity of miniſters

(Mr.

(Mr. Pitt ſaid) was fully proved by the conceſſions which they had declared themſelves willing to make, and the ſacrifices which they offered. For what were theſe ſacrifices made? For peace. To whom were theſe ſacrifices offered? To an enemy whoſe forces had never ſeparately met the military ſtrength without adding to our national glory and renown—An enemy, whoſe commerce was extinguiſhed, whoſe navy was annihilated, whoſe financial diſtreſs, however palliated by their *partizans* here, was loudly proved in the groans, in the contentions of the councils, in the acts of directorial violence. On reviewing the ſtate of the two countries, let the world judge the value of the conceſſions on one part, and the force of the claim upon the other. Compare the mutual means of offence and reſiſtance,—the power of the French to take from us, and the ability of this country to retain,—and, upon that compariſon, decide whether the *projet* of his majeſty did not manifeſt proofs of ſincerity and moderation. But to this diſplay of ſincerity and moderation the arrogance and duplicity of the French afforded a complete contraſt. Endleſs delays enſued; and they required that we, whom they had ſummoned to treat for a definitive treaty, ſhould ſtop and diſcuſs preliminary points—inſiſting that his majeſty ſhould reſign the title of King of France,

a *harm-*

a *harmleſs feather*, at leaſt, which his anceſtors had for centuries worn in their crowns*. They demanded reſtitution of the ſhips taken at Toulon, or a compenſation; and a renunciation of any mortgage which this country might poſſeſs for the loan to the emperor. The French plenipotentiaries were immediately informed, that this country preferred no ſuch claim, and that the conceſſion was needleſs.

" We next were called upon to ſubſcribe, as a preliminary, that we were prepared to give up every thing we had acquired during the war. Such a preliminary could not be admitted by any man who was not diſpoſed to adore the idol of the French power in proſtrate baſeneſs. His majeſty did not heſitate in refuſing to comply with ſuch inſolent demands.

" The Directory, however, did not then adhere to the extravagance of them: a long delay, to amuſe their people, took place. They pleaded it as a proof of the ſincerity of their pacific intentions, and pretended that they were under the neceſſity of ſending to their allies an account of what paſſed; that they were endea-

* But, amidſt the aſſemblage of diamonds, pearls, and rubies, which compoſed his majeſty's crown, why ſhould he be ſolicitous to retain a trumpery *feather*,—a feather, too, which, however worthleſs, did not rightfully appertain to him; and which, as a cauſe of irritation, and a mark of inſult, was by no means, what Mr. Pitt ſtyled it, " an harmleſs feather."

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vouring to prevail upon them to put an end to the calamities of a war into which they had brought thoſe allies, and who have ever ſince been in a ſtate of abject ſubjection to them, whatever importance they affected to give them in this negotiation. They then directed their plenipotentiaries to inform lord Malmeſbury, that they had obtained an anſwer, but it was not ſatisfactory, and they were obliged to ſend another meſſenger.

" It was thus they concealed their inſincerity till the dreadful cataſtrophe of the 4th of September: and even ſome days after that violence broke out in Paris they promiſed to produce their *projet*—ſtill pacific in their profeſſions, and inimical in their deſigns. The ſtep which they took after this laſt aſſurance was to renew, in a more offenſive form, the demand which had been rejected by lord Malmeſbury two months before, in which rejection they had acquieſced, and we, in the interval, had been waiting for the propoſals which were to come from them. He would leave others to imagine what was likely to have been the end of a negotiation in which it was a preliminary to reſign every thing *.

" But

* Upon this extraordinary ſtatement of the Engliſh miniſter it is ſufficient to remark, that the Directory never re-

"But it is eſſential (ſaid Mr. Pitt) that we ſhould know the real aim of the enemy. It is not our commerce, it is not our wealth, it is not our colonies in the Weſt, or our territories in the Eaſt; nor is it our maritime greatneſs, or the extent of our empire—No; the object is our LIBERTY!—the baſis of our independence, the citadel of our happineſs, our CONSTITUTION! They themſelves have declared it, openly avowed that our government and theirs cannot ſubſiſt together, and their endeavour is to deſtroy it. Should they come amongſt us, they would bring with their invading army the great peſtilence to man, the genius of French liberty, which contains in it every curſe to ſociety—in

ceded, or, in all probability, meant to recede, from their demand that lord Malmeſbury ſhould ſatisfy them with regard to the full extent of his powers. When that point was aſcertained, and not till then, the plenipotentiaries of France were ready to engage in the diſcuſſion of the *projet* of England: and if that plan was not accepted by the Directory, the French commiſſioners pledged themſelves to bring forward a *contre-projet* of their own.—Than this mode of procedure, nothing certainly could be fairer. But, if lord Malmeſbury's powers were limited, as they ſtrongly ſuſpected, (and it ſhould prove that he could treat only upon the baſis of the *projet* he had offered) it was in vain for the French government to propoſe any other plan of pacification. And the demand by lord Malmeſbury of a *contre-projet*, in which the intereſt of their allies, Holland and Spain, *muſt* have been in ſome degree ſacrificed, was, on that ſuppoſition, wholly nugatory, to ſay the leaſt,—probably artful and inſidious.

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the place of our glorious principles and equal laws will be a hideous monſter, whom nothing can content but the annihilation of the Britiſh empire. And are we under circumſtances to be afraid or aſhamed to declare, in a firm and manly tone, that we will defend ourſelves? Are we to ſhun the truth, and forget the energy which belongs to Engliſhmen? If, therefore, we value property, liberty, law,—if we value national power or domeſtic happineſs,—we ſhall reſiſt theſe demands with indignation. There was not a man, let his enjoyments be ever ſo conſiderable, who ought not to ſacrifice whatever portion of them might be requiſite to oppoſe the violence of the enemy: nor one whoſe ſtock was ſo ſmall, that he ſhould not be ready to ſacrifice his life in the ſame cauſe. We owed it in gratitude to Providence, whoſe goodneſs had placed us ſo high in the ſcale of nations, and cauſed us to be the admiration of Europe, with moſt of the governments of which ours was an happy contraſt. The means of our ſafety were ſtill in our hands, our bleſſings were many, and the preſervation of them was our higheſt duty. He truſted that we never ſhould abandon it, to whatever extremity we might be driven, but cheerfully enter into a pledge for the ſincere performance of it, declaring our determination

to ſtand or fall by the laws, liberties, and religion, of our country."

Such was the faſcinating influence of this ſpeech, the whole force of which depended on the falſe and abſurd aſſumption "that the French inſiſted on the entire reſtitution of all the acquiſitions made by England in the courſe of the war, as a preliminary to negotiation," that it ſeemed to ſatisfy all doubts, and to ſilence all oppoſition.

Mr. Pollen complimented the miniſter on his eloquent harangue, and profeſſed "his belief in the ſincerity of the miniſtry, imputing the failure of the negotiation ſolely to the French government. Of many of the paſt meaſures of the adminiſtration (Mr. Pollen ſaid) he had diſapproved; but he now felt the neceſſity of throwing a veil over the paſt, and the addreſs had his moſt cordial ſupport."

Mr. Martin applauded the ſpeech, which he thought very convincing, and the amendment altogether unneceſſary. Seeing the French determined to dictate unreaſonable conditions, he allowed we ought not to permit ourſelves to be trampled upon, but to evince the ſpirit which became a great nation.

Lord Temple and Dr. Lawrence blamed the miniſter for having offered ſo much to the French

French as the price of peace, and were for purſuing the war with ſpirit and reſolution till the enemy were completely vanquiſhed.

Mr. Wilberforce hoped that, in this criſis, Engliſhmen would feel the neceſſity of coming forward, joining hand and heart, and proclaiming to the world that, however divided before, they would unite for general ſafety. Of this univerſal harmony of ſentiment he thought the unanimity of that night a happy omen, and he hoped the honorable baronet would withdraw his amendment, in order to give this firſt expreſſion of it the fulleſt force.

Sir John Sinclair then ſaid, "that he ſincerely wiſhed for unanimity, and *candidly* confeſſed he was not inſenſible to the weight of the arguments he had juſt heard, and therefore cheerfully conſented to withdraw his motion." Thus the miniſter came off triumphantly victorious, and the houſe broke up completely duped, and completely ſatisfied.

The nation at large alſo imbibing the ſame general idea, that the conceſſions offered by England were very great, and that the claims of France were highly unreaſonable and unjuſt, evinced an extraordinary and ſudden renewal of ardor in the proſecution of the war. Animated, at the ſame time, by the great and recent victory of lord Duncan, and not perfectly

well pleaſed with the ſeceſſion of the members in oppoſition, they ſeemed inclined again to entruſt that confidence to Mr. Pitt which he ſo little merited, and had already ſo groſsly and dreadfully abuſed.

In the houſe of lords an addreſs, ſimilar to that of the commons, was moved by lord Grenville, who ſupported it in a long ſpeech after his manner, and by a great variety of arguments and aſſertions equally novel and curious. His lordſhip declared, "that the French plenipotentiaries had demanded of us, as a preliminary, to renounce all that we had to aſk, and to declare all that we would concede. It would (as his lordſhip affirmed) have been not folly merely, but TREASON, in any miniſter to have complied with a demand ſo derogatory to the honor, and ſo fatal to the intereſts, of his country.—He was at a loſs to conceive what palliations could poſſibly be offered for the conduct of the enemy; —though (in his uſual ſtyle of inſinuation, his lordſhip added, that) he well knew and lamented that every meaſure of the French government, in relation to this country, found more able and ingenious apologiſts here than in France;"—thus baſely attempting to throw the odium of his own miſerable blunders upon thoſe who, by detecting and expoſing them in the face of day, had ſo clearly manifeſted his political

political imbecillity and incapacity.—The principal lords in oppoſition having ſeceded, as well as the commons, the addreſs paſſed without any debate or diviſion.

In a very early period of the ſeſſion a bill was introduced into the lower houſe to continue the reſtrictions upon the Bank, which paſſed with trifling oppoſition, or, indeed, obſervation.

On the 22d of November Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual ſtatement of accounts. The whole expence of the year appeared to amount, by this ſtatement, to 25 millions and a half. In order to furniſh a ſupply equal to this enormous demand, he declared it to be his intention to have recourſe to a perfectly new and ſolid ſyſtem of finance. Of this ſum ſix millions and a half would ariſe from the unappropriated produce of the ſinking fund, Exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Nineteen millions were then to be provided for. Seven of theſe he propoſed to raiſe *within the year* by a new impoſt, which ſhould be regulated by the exiſting aſſeſſed taxes in a triplicate proportion to their actual amount —limited, however, to the tenth of each perſon's income. Of the remaining twelve millions four might be borrowed without creating any additional debt; the produce of the ſinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpoſe

of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount. For the other eight millions, he propoſed that the triple aſſeſſment be continued till the principal and intereſt be completely diſcharged; ſo that, after ſeven millions ſhould be raiſed for the ſervice of the year, the ſame taxes, in little more than another year, would pay off the eight millions thus borrowed, with the intermediate intereſt. This plan (he ſaid) would extremely damp the hopes of the enemy. He acquieſced in what had been ſo often ſaid, that it would have been fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced; and he affirmed, that it was much to be lamented it had not been ſooner terminated: but the period was now arrived, when an abſolute neceſſity exiſted for a radical change of ſyſtem.

Mr. Tierney, recently elected member for Southwark, a man of great information, induſtry, and integrity, and who had declined joining in the ſeceſſion from parliament, wiſhed to be ſatisfied upon what grounds the Bank refuſed its creditors payment in ſpecie, whilſt at the ſame time it increaſed its advances to government?—How a ſyſtem of raiſing ſupplies which ſhewed that we had arrived at the end of all regular means of ſupply could damp the hopes of the enemy he could not conjecture; and he aſked upon what new funds the neceſſary loans were

were to be raiſed the enſuing years of the war? for, with the preſent adminiſtration, he held it impoſſible the country could have peace. The right honorable gentleman wanted the requiſites to bring about a peace. He wanted the reſpect and confidence not only of France but of Europe.

Mr. Curwen reminded the houſe "that peace without indemnity might at leaſt have been procured; and it became gentlemen to conſider whether the war was worth carrying on for the ſake of indemnity. It was not for any injury done to us, but to our allies, the Dutch, that we entered into the war; and we were now for indemnifying ourſelves at their expence."

The bill brought into the houſe in conſequence of the reſolutions now paſſed was oppoſed with much vivacity in every ſtage; and on the ſecond reading Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan made again their appearance in the houſe. Mr. Sheridan affirmed, that it would be impoſſible for a very numerous claſs of houſekeepers ever to pay this dreadful tax, and that, if the new ſyſtem was enforced, it would go near to erect a fiſcal inquiſition in every houſe.

Mr. Fox declared, that he attended that night in conformity to the earneſt requeſt of his conſtituents.—He ſtigmatized the whole meaſure as bearing

bearing the ſtamp of deſpotiſm; and particularly reprobated that part of the bill, as manifeſtly unjuſt, which put it out of the power of perſons to leſſen their taxes by retrenching their expences. This clauſe (he ſaid) reminded him of the illuſtration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the antient government of France. "When at Lyons, Yorick reſolved to change his mode of travelling, and ſail down the Rhône inſtead of going poſt. The poſtmaſter, however, applied to him for ſix livres ſix ſous, as the price of the next poſt. 'But I do not intend to travel poſt (ſaid Yorick), I mean to go by water.' 'That's no matter (ſaid the poſtmaſter), you muſt pay for the next poſt whether you have changed your mind or not." He remarked alſo, that to rouze the energy of the people it was neceſſary to hear of the ſacrifices of the crown. It was from the higheſt place that the example ought to be given. It would animate and cheer the hearts of all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

"Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe laborum."

Mr. Fox concluded a ſpeech fraught with excellence by proteſting that he never would accept a ſeat high or low in any adminiſtration until public opinion ſhall have decided for a thorough

thorough and perfect reform of all abuſes, and for a direct return to the genuine but violated principles of the Britiſh conſtitution.

Mr. Mainwaring, member for Middleſex, ſaid, he had inſtructions from his conſtituents to vote againſt the bill. Such they declared was the nature of the meaſure, that, if attempted to be enforced, they muſt either reſiſt or ſink under it.—The bill, after much oppoſition, finally paſſed by a majority of 196 to 71 voices.

ON its firſt appearance in the houſe of lords, January 5, 1798, the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed by the duke of Bedford. His grace obſerved, that the taxation in queſtion was no juſt criterion of general expenditure. If it *were*, expenditure was no criterion of income, and ſtill leſs was income a criterion of property. By the proviſions of this act, while ſome perſons paid a tenth, others would not contribute a twentieth, or perhaps a fiftieth, of their income. His grace expreſſed his wiſhes, notwithſtanding, that this plan of raiſing the ſupplies within the year had been adopted at the commencement of the war, as it might then have inclined the people to reflect whether the objects for which they embarked in it were worthy of ſuch exertions and ſuch expences.

Lord Holland, a young nobleman nearly related

lated to Mr. Fox, and appearing to poſſeſs a large proportion of his genius and ſpirit, now ſpeaking for the firſt time in the houſe, declared, "that the executive government had been ſupported in its meaſures by a complying majority and a confident parliament, which had relied implicitly on the promiſes of miniſters—promiſes all terminating, after the expenditure of 200 millions, in defeat and diſappointment. At the end of five years he was juſtified in aſking, what pledge remained for their better conduct in future? Had ſuch a bill been brought forward at the beginning of the war, it might have anſwered a good purpoſe, by opening the eyes of the people. But it was deemed more expedient at that time to delude them by aſſurances that the war would be neither long nor expenſive. When the miniſter had, at the opening of the former ſeſſion, called for eighteen millions, declaring that ſum to be ſufficient for the year's expenditure, and at the end of ſix months demanded as much more, could his aſſurances be confided in? Of the preſent bill he muſt ſay, that it appeared to him more cenſurable than the worſt of the revolutionary meaſures of Robeſpierre. It was at once intolerable in its preſſure, and incompetent to its purpoſe. He had well conſidered the dangers which threatened this country, and found none more

more great than the continuance of the preſent miniſters in office."—The bill paſſed, on a diviſion, by a majority of 67 voices.

Another great and favorite meaſure of finance was what the miniſter ſtyled, very improperly indeed, the redemption of the land-tax; and a plan certainly might have been eaſily deviſed, ſimple, efficacious, and beneficial, for the purpoſe of utterly extinguiſhing this odious tax, by a pecuniary commutation. But the miniſter's plan was no other than a ſcheme for the perpetuation and ſale of the land-tax; making it a ſpecies of tranſferable property—allowing indeed the landed proprietor the privilege of preemption on terms ſomewhat leſs diſadvantageous than to an abſolute ſtranger. With reſpect to the mode and terms of the purchaſe, it was propoſed that the payment ſhould not be made in money, but in a transfer of 3 per cent. ſtock, and that the ſtock ſo transferred ſhould produce an annual intereſt of one fifth, or, in caſes where the proprietor was himſelf the purchaſer, one tenth, more than the proportion of land-tax redeemed. The bill paſſed with inconſiderable oppoſition; but, from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one fourth of the land-tax was, in the ſpace of three ſucceeding years, bought up; and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, has not exceeded the

the trifling ſum of 50,000*l.* *per annum*; and, as few more purchaſes can be expected, the project may be conſidered as having diſgracefully failed.

A third device ſet on foot by the miniſter was that of a voluntary national ſubſcription towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invaſion from a powerful and enraged enemy. All the adherents and partizans of the miniſtry, and all the zealous advocates of the war of all deſcriptions, exerting themſelves vigorouſly on this occaſion, about one million and a half was raiſed by this unuſual and not very conſtitutional method. The Bank of England, though ſtill unable to pay their own notes, and in a ſtate of actual bankruptcy, ſetting the example to the nation, ſubſcribed the ſum of 200,000*l.*—thus making up in generoſity what they wanted in juſtice. The king and queen, after a very long interval of reluctant delay, ſubſcribed, the former 20,000*l.* and the latter 5,000*l.* to the national contribution; the amount of which, after all, compared to the general expenditure of the country, was as a drop of water to the ocean.

On the 25th of April the chancellor of the Exchequer, who had ſo lately profeſſed to bring forward an eſtimate of expence for the whole year, begged leave to ſtate a ſmall error in his calculation.

calculation. The loan to be raiſed muſt, he ſaid, be fifteen inſtead of twelve millions. This he had contracted for at the exorbitant rate of 200*l.* 3 per cents. for 100*l.* in money, and about 5*s.* long annuity. But this was not the worſt. The principle upon which the late war-tax, ſtyled the Triple Aſſeſſment, was founded, being in the progreſs of the bill demonſtrated the moſt unequal and unjuſt, ſo many modifications and abatements had been admitted into it, that Mr. Pitt now thought proper to ſtate the amount at four millions and a half only. And eight millions being raiſed on the credit of it, excluſive of the produce of the preſent year, it appeared that this pretended war-tax muſt laſt at all events two years after the war, ſuppoſing a peace concluded at the end of the year. For the remaining ſeven millions taxes were to be provided, which, with a large increaſe of navy-debt, amounting to about four millions, required the ſum of 763,000*l.* in addition to the annual burdens already ſuſtained by the public. And thus terminated the firſt great effort of this vaporing, vaunting, mountebank miniſter, to introduce a new and SOLID ſyſtem of finance—an effort which impoſed upon the nation temporary taxes, for three years, to the amount of four millions and a half; perpetual taxes to the amount of near 800,000*l.*; and which created

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a new additional capital of forty-four millions of debt for twenty-two millions actually paid into the public Exchequer.

Though a meſſage had early in the year been ſent from the king to the two houſes, ſtating the preparations making by the enemy for the invaſion of theſe kingdoms, and ſoliciting the attention of parliament to the ſubject, it was ſome time before any regular plan could be matured for the national defence. At length, Mr. Dundas moved for the introduction of a bill, to enable his majeſty to call out a certain portion of the ſupplementary militia; and, after an interval of ſome weeks, for a ſecond bill, to enable his majeſty to take meaſures for the more effectual ſecurity of theſe realms, and to indemnify perſons who might ſuffer injury in their property by the operation of ſuch meaſures. This bill, which contained a great variety of regulations, proper and neceſſary to be adopted in caſe of actual invaſion, was received with very general approbation.

A third bill was brought into the houſe by Mr. Secretary Dundas, to revive the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas-Corpus Act, which, when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and an invaſion in the other, could not be objected to. The chancellor of the Exchequer, upon this occaſion, declared, that at no former pe-

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riod of the war were the preparations of the enemy for a deſcent upon this country ſo ripe, ſo extenſive, or ſo truly alarming, as at the preſent criſis. The French government, freed from the perplexities and ſtruggles in which it had been involved, by the military exertions of the continental powers, was now at liberty to employ its troops directly againſt us. Some difference of opinion took place reſpecting the duration of the ſuſpenſion, but it was at length fixed for the 1ſt of February.

The alarm of invaſion not only continuing, but increaſing, and the French having by this time aſſembled a vaſt force on the oppoſite ſide of the channel, the chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 25th of May, moved for a bill for the more effectual manning of the navy. The chief object he had in view was the temporary ſuſpenſion of protections, and it was his wiſh that the bill ſhould that day paſs through its different ſtages in that houſe, and be ſent up to the lords for their concurrence. Mr. Tierney expreſſed his belief that the augmentation of the navy might be provided for in the uſual way. No arguments had been offered to prove the propriety of ſuch an extraordinary deviation from the common practice of that houſe; nor was he prepared to give three or four votes without ſome deliberation and reflection in favor

of a bill which, like all the other meaſures of miniſtry, he conſidered as decidedly hoſtile to the liberty of the ſubject.

Mr. Pitt roſe in great warmth, and ſaid, "that if every meaſure adopted againſt the deſigns of France was to be conſidered as hoſtile to the liberties of this country, then indeed his idea of liberty differed widely from that of the honorable gentleman. Were the preſent bill not paſſed in a day, it was obvious that thoſe whom it concerned might elude its effects: but if the meaſure was neceſſary, and that a previous notice would render it inefficient, how could the honorable gentleman's oppoſition to it be accounted for, but from a deſire to obſtruct the defence of the country?"—Mr. Tierney now roſe, and called the chancellor of the Exchequer to order: and the Speaker interpoſing, with that dignified impartiality which has ever marked his conduct, obſerved, that whatever had a tendency to throw ſuſpicion on the ſentiments of a member, if conveyed in language that clearly marked ſuch intention, was certainly irregular. This the houſe would judge of, but they would wait to hear the honorable gentleman's explanation. Mr. Pitt replied, "that if the houſe waited for his explanation, he feared it muſt wait a long time. He ſubmitted what he had ſaid to the judgment of the houſe, and would

would not depart from any thing he had advanced, by either retracting or explaining them." —This peremptory refusal to explain a most unparliamentary and injurious expression, a refusal no less disrespectful and insolent to the house than unjust to Mr. Tierney, occasioned a sudden silence; and no person having the presence of mind to move a resolution of censure upon the minister, Mr. Tierney immediately left the house. The consequence was, that a challenge was sent from that gentleman to Mr. Pitt, and a duel fought between them on the ensuing Sunday; when two cases of pistols being discharged without effect, Mr. Pitt firing the last of his in the air, the matter was accommodated by the respective seconds.

The bill in question having passed through all its stages, the chancellor of the Exchequer proposed that it should commence from the 24th *of May*, instant. This was objected to by Mr. Wigley, who, with good reason, thought it a most unjustifiable thing in itself, as well as dangerous in precedent, to make any law which should operate in an *ex-post-facto* manner. The objection nevertheless was overruled, and the bill, with its odious appendage, finally passed into an act on the same day. Certainly, in every country, *ex-post-facto* laws are the most iniquitous, and, in a free country, the most hateful

and heterogeneous of things. Whence! from what legitimate ſource, is this power derived, of ſubjecting men to the operation of laws before thoſe laws begin to exiſt,—by an infernal device thus binding their victims in an inviſible necromantic chain?

In the courſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Wilberforce again renewed his unfortunate motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade. It was ſupported in two very eloquent ſpeeches, each excellent in its way, by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; the latter of whom, influenced by his native generoſity and humanity, would not abſent himſelf from this diſcuſſion. "The great plea (Mr. Pitt remarked) for the continuance of the ſlave-trade was the neceſſity of a free importation, in order to enable the planter to bring his waſte lands into cultivation. To what did this reaſoning tend? In the laſt hundred years the cultivation of land in Jamaica had increaſed, until about one third of the iſland had been cleared. For this 250,000 ſlaves had not more than ſufficed. Of conſequence, for the cultivation of the remaining two-thirds, half a million more ſlaves would be neceſſary. This is the number which muſt be imported, with all the frightful waſte of mortality with which, as experience had fatally evinced, ſuch importation would be attended. And as a correſponding length of time would

would be requiſite for the converſion of the lands now waſte as for thoſe in actual cultivation, the period of the final abolition would be protracted for the term of two hundred years. The intereſt of the Weſt-India iſlands themſelves, nay, the ſafety of thoſe iſlands, which the motion before the houſe was ſaid by ſome to endanger, abſolutely required and demanded the immediate abolition of this commerce. It had been ſaid, that, as this trade was encouraged by the legiſlature, the abolition would be unjuſt toward thoſe who had acted upon the faith of the exiſting laws. But was it not known to thoſe who made the objection, that the legiſlature often beſtowed encouragement upon branches of commerce which in different circumſtances it was deemed prudent to withdraw? No partial inconvenience (Mr. Pitt truly and nobly affirmed) ought to weigh againſt the indiſputed principle of juſtice, and againſt the general intereſts and ſafety of the iſlands themſelves, which it was the duty of that houſe to guard, whether it was or was not underſtood by the parties concerned in the diſcuſſion.

Mr. Fox, in a high ſtrain of eloquence, declared it to be a matter of ſhame and lamentation that the country ſhould be ſo degenerate from every ſenſe of virtue, ſo ſunk in hypocriſy, that, however convinced of the enormity of

the wickedneſs, they had not yet abandoned that courſe which they agreed ſo unanimouſly to condemn. It had been alleged, that we ought not to judge of this commerce from the cruelty of individuals engaged in it. But ſuch is the nature of man, that the idea of poſſeſſing unlimited authority, ſo far from inſpiring tenderneſs, produces contempt of the object as worthleſs. If man had not been cruel, ſlavery itſelf could not have had exiſtence. He would not, for one, truſt to any local regulations of the colonial legiſlatures as had been recommended, but would vote for a direct and immediate abolition of a trade which the houſe had already condemned as inconſiſtent with juſtice and morality, and which, he agreed with the miniſter, was equally incompatible with good policy and the permanent ſafety of our Weſt-India poſſeſſions. Upon this occaſion, the houſe, momentarily impreſſed with a ſenſe of moral and political duty, was almoſt perſuaded to be juſt, the motion being negatived by a majority of four voices only, in a houſe of 175 members.

The proceedings in parliament during the whole of this ſeſſion were of a very momentous nature. On the 22d of March the duke of Bedford, at the cloſe of a very able ſpeech, moved an addreſs to the throne, humbly ſtating to his majeſty

majeſty the urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity which exiſted of employing other miniſters, and adopting other councils.—"Inſtructed as we are"—ſuch is the language of this excellent addreſs—"by a long ſeries of events, and corrected by experience, we are bound by our duty, and compelled by neceſſity, to ſubmit to his majeſty our humble opinion, that the ſituation of the country is too critical, and the dangers that ſurround it are too ſerious, to admit of any further trial of the ſame councils which have conſtantly failed, or of the ſame perſons for whoſe continuance in office, notwithſtanding the heavy and unanſwered charges which have been brought againſt them, even themſelves have nothing to plead but a feeble unavailing rectitude of intention, conſtantly overpowered by the ſuperior policy and vigor of the enemy, or a pretended apprehenſion, equally falſe and malignant, of the deſigns of thoſe whom his majeſty might appoint to ſucceed them in the adminiſtration of public affairs."—In the courſe of his ſpeech, this diſtinguiſhed nobleman took occaſion to declare that he held a parliamentary reform to be eſſential to the ſalvation of the ſtate; and, however he might have been calumniated as an eager and ambitious candidate for power, he pledged himſelf never to make one of any adminiſtration with which parliamentary reform was not a

leading object; and that, if this meaſure failed, he would not continue in office. Yet he allowed there might be men of talents and integrity, perfectly well qualified for the firſt offices of the ſtate, who would not conſider parliamentary reform as a neceſſary ingredient in their ſyſtem; and, ſo long as they acted for the public advantage, they ſhould have his ſupport.—In alluſion to the threatened invaſion, his grace declared it muſt be obvious to every man, that, if the French ſucceeded, we ſhould be the moſt degraded of nations. No rational perſon could, for a moment, believe that they who oppoſe adminiſtration would abet the deſigns of an invading enemy,—that they who have conſtantly contended for the liberties of their countrymen would join an enemy whoſe avowed object is to deſtroy them. What then can we think of miniſters when we ſee them encouraging theſe baſe calumnies? It is certain no man can take any ſhare in oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration without being thus ſtigmatized.—"My lords," (ſaid the noble ſpeaker) determined as I am, never, by any act of mine, to contribute to the continuance of the preſent war, ſtill, if we are attacked by the enemy, I will be among the foremoſt to maintain the liberties of my country againſt all oppreſſors, tyrants, and invaders.—Never will I fight for the preſent miniſters;

miniſters; for I know of no more decided enemies to their country and their king than they are. I may for the moment ſuſpend my oppoſition to them, but it will be only for a moment. When I return, I return as decided a foe to them as ever. I abhor their conduct, I deteſt their principles, and againſt the ſyſtem upon which they have acted I vow eternal enmity. If ever an unmanly timidity ſhould make me enter into an alliance with them, if ever baſe fear ſhould induce me to join with them in oppreſſing my country, may the juſt indignation of the people purſue me! may the deteſtation of the world be my lot! and may the great Creator pour down his heavieſt curſes upon my apoſtate head!"—The motion of addreſs, after a long and vehement debate, was negatived by a majority of 100 voices.

It was impoſſible that the alarming ſtate of Ireland ſhould not excite very uneaſy apprehenſions; although, ſince the recognition of the national independence of that kingdom and its legiſlature, it was difficult to bring any queſtion relative to Iriſh affairs in a manner perfectly regular before the Britiſh parliament.—Early in the ſeſſion, and previous to the Chriſtmas receſs, however, the earl of Moira, a nobleman of great property, influence, and popularity, in that kingdom, and member of both legiſlatures, deeming

deeming points of form to be wholly ſubordinate to thoſe grand objects for which government itſelf was ordained and conſtituted, thought it indiſpenſably neceſſary to renew the motion made by him in the preceding ſeſſion for an addreſs to the king reſpecting the ſituation of Ireland. This nobleman obſerved, that "he had unavailingly called the attention of the houſe laſt year to the ſtate of that country, and had in vain predicted the conſequences which the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed there muſt inevitably produce. The neceſſity of interpoſition was now become more urgent. All confidence, all ſecurity, were taken away. No one could ſay who would be the next victim of the oppreſſion and cruelty which he ſaw others endure. The greateſt and moſt wanton barbarities had been committed; but he wiſhed, from prudential motives, to draw a veil over theſe aggravated enormities. He entreated the houſe to take into ſerious conſideration the tendency of the preſent meaſures, which, inſtead of removing diſcontents, had increaſed the number of the diſcontented. The moment of conciliation was not yet paſſed; but if the ſyſtem were not changed, he feared that Ireland would be loſt to this country for ever."

The motion was oppoſed by lord Grenville, and the lord-chancellor, who aſſerted that it was of

of a nature particularly unfit for the diſcuſſion of that houſe, as their lordſhips had no *authentic* information of the grievances of Ireland, in the firſt place; and no power to redreſs them, if exiſting, in the ſecond. They could not paſs an opinion upon them regularly; nor attempt to act, without ſubverting law and counteracting authority. Times of imminent danger required vigorous exertions; but no one could ſay that the adminiſtration of juſtice had ever been interrupted; nor ought any inſinuations to be thrown out againſt the parliament of Ireland, as if that aſſembly were deficient in their care for the welfare and the intereſts of their country.—The queſtion of adjournment was then put and carried.

Before the end of this ſeſſion, nevertheleſs, the general ſtate of affairs in Ireland became ſuch as to force itſelf again upon the notice of parliament. On the 26th of March the earl of Moira once more drew the attention of the houſe, by ſtating, "that he had the affidavits of a hundred perſons in his poſſeſſion, to prove that torture had been employed in forcing confeſſions from individuals, againſt themſelves and againſt their neighbours; that horrible devaſtations had been made on the houſes and property of perſons accuſed of diſaffection. The deponents were ready to come forward at the bar of the houſe

houſe with their teſtimonies; but he wiſhed to avoid whatever might tend to exaſperate; he ſhould therefore content himſelf with placing his affidavits in the hands of the noble lord on the wool-ſack."—The marquis of Downſhire entered into an elaborate vindication of the conduct of the executive government in Ireland; to which, when lord Moira roſe to reply, he was called to order by lord Carnarvon, who urged the impropriety and danger of ſo irregular a converſation; and, offering to explain, the duke of Athol moved an adjournment of the houſe.

On the 15th of June the duke of Leinſter, a nobleman of the higheſt rank and reſpectability in Ireland, and a peer alſo of Great Britain, after a ſpeech, in the courſe of which his feelings appeared deeply agitated, moved an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly requeſting "that his majeſty would deign to direct the proper officer to lay before this houſe a full and ample ſtatement of the facts and circumſtances which had led to the diſaſtrous affairs of Ireland, and of the meaſures which had hitherto been purſued for the purpoſe of averting ſuch momentous evils. That, however alarming the diſcontents now prevailing in the ſiſter-kingdom were, we would not deſpair; but that the reſult of ſuch diſcuſſion would enable us to aſſiſt his majeſty, according to our conſtitutional duty, with

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ſome well-adapted remedy, ſuch as might reſtore, in that diſtracted part of the Britiſh empire, confidence in the laws by due adminiſtration of them, obedience to his majeſty's government by a temperate uſe of its powers, and union amongſt all deſcriptions of perſons in that kingdom."

A long and animated debate enſued, in which the motion was ſupported by the dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonſhire, and Leeds, the earls of Suffolk, Moira, Fitzwilliam, and Beſborough, and lord Holland; and oppoſed by the lords Townſhend, Carliſle, Grenville, Spencer, and the lord-chancellor. On the diviſion there appeared, contents 18, not-contents 51.—A ſtrong proteſt was ſigned by the diſſentient peers.

Upon the ſame day lord George Cavendiſh, after a ſhort and emphatic ſpeech, introduced into the houſe of commons the following ſeries of reſolutions, as proper and neceſſary to be adopted by that houſe for the ſalvation of Ireland:

"1. That whenever this houſe is called upon for ſupplies of men or money, to be provided by levies and taxes on our conſtituents, it is our right and duty to watch over and control the purpoſes to which they are to be applied.

"2. That this houſe is ready to make every exertion in its power to enable his majeſty to ſubdue

ſubdue all rebellion againſt his lawful authority —truſting he will temper ſeverity with mercy, and never loſe ſight of that equitable policy which, by the redreſs of real grievances, may ſecure to him the loyalty and affection of his people.

"3. That although we ſhall be ready at all times, by all juſt means, to maintain the unity of the Britiſh empire, and our connexion with Ireland as a part of it, yet we never can believe it is the wiſh of his majeſty to ſupport the principle of governing that country as a conquered and hoſtile country—a principle no leſs contrary to juſtice than to the intereſts of the two kingdoms.

"4. That it is the duty of the miniſters to adviſe his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to repeat the recommendation which he made through the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to that kingdom in 1793, ſeriouſly to conſider the ſituation of the Iriſh Catholics, and to conſider it with liberality, for the purpoſe of cementing general union amongſt his majeſty's ſubjects in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

"5. That ſuch perſons as have expreſſed their diſapprobation of meaſures of conceſſion, and under whoſe adminiſtration Ireland has been reduced to a ſituation ſo imminently dangerous to the intereſts and happineſs of the empire, cannot

cannot be effectual channels of his majeſty's royal grace and beneficent intentions towards their fellow ſubjects."

Theſe excellent reſolutions were ſeconded by lord John Ruſſel; and it was pleaſing to thoſe attached to the ancient ſyſtem of Whiggiſm in this country, to ſee the illuſtrious names of Ruſſel and Cavendiſh combined in oppoſition to thoſe fatal meaſures which had reduced the Britiſh empire to the very verge of deſtruction. After a long debate, from which, as from that in the upper houſe, ſtrangers were punctilioufly excluded,—the miniſtry, like the fooliſh oſtrich, hiding its head to avert the danger,—the order of the day was carried by a majority of 146 voices —the numbers being 66 to 212.

Mr. Fox, who attended in his place upon this great occaſion, then moved the following propoſition: "That this houſe, underſtanding it to be a matter of notoriety that the ſyſtem of coercion had been enforced in Ireland with a rigor ſhocking to humanity,—and, particularly, that ſcourges and other tortures had been employed to extort confeſſions,—is of opinion, that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to practices ſo diſgraceful to the Britiſh name; and that our hopes of reſtoring tranquillity to Ireland muſt ariſe from a change of ſyſtem as far as relates to

to the executive government, together with a removal from their ſtations of thoſe perſons by whoſe advice thoſe atrocities have been perpetrated, and towards whom the people of Ireland can feel no ſentiments but of reſentment and terror."—This, after a ſecond debate, was negatived by nearly the ſame majority, the numbers being 62 to 204 voices.

On the 19th of June a meſſage from the king was delivered, acquainting the houſe, that various regiments of the militia of this kingdom had made a voluntary tender of their ſervices to be employed for the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in Ireland. An addreſs of thanks being moved by Mr. Dundas, preparatory to the introduction of a bill empowering his majeſty to accept the offers of ſuch regiments, a vehement debate aroſe. Mr. Nichols ſaid, " that if the addreſs were adopted, the principle of the Militia Bill, as originally eſtabliſhed, would be completely abandoned. The meaſure beſides would be unjuſt to thoſe who, wholly unſuſpicious of any ſuch intention, had entered, *bonâ fide*, into the militia ſervice. The houſe, moreover," he added, " ought to be fully acquainted with the merits of the queſtion before they proceeded to give their ſupport to the executive government, and fully to aſcertain the cauſes of

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the diſcontent which had driven that unfortunate country into the preſent unnatural conteſt."

Mr. Lawrence Palk and Mr. Pierrepoint, gentlemen not uſually found in the ranks of oppoſition, contended againſt the meaſure as a moſt groſs and flagrant violation of the conſtitution.

Mr. Banks expreſſed his apprehenſion "that if the principle of ſending the militia to Ireland, or to any place out of the realm, were once admitted, there was no ſpecies of warfare in which they might not be employed:" and he moved an amendment to the addreſs, importing, "that the houſe conſidered the propoſition ſuggeſted in his majeſty's ſpeech as of the utmoſt conſequence, and ſuch as required ſome further deliberation."

Mr. Tierney declared, "that the miniſter ought to come down to the houſe clothed in ſackcloth and aſhes when he had ſuch a propoſition to make as the preſent. There was no official communication to that houſe even of the exiſtence of a rebellion in Ireland, but in the meſſage calling upon them to take this important and unconſtitutional ſtep in order to ſuppreſs it. The militia was a part of the conſtitution: where was a ſubſtitute to be found for

this body? The tenor of the oath was to ſerve faithfully in Great Britain."

Sir William Pulteney ſaid, "he was afraid that ſending the militia was now unavoidable; but this was no excuſe for thoſe who brought us into the embarraſſment." The houſe then divided: in favor of the amendment 47, againſt it 118. The bill finally paſſed, after much angry contention and oppoſition in both houſes.

The kingdom being thus left deſtitute of its natural and conſtitutional defence, under the impending and imminent apprehenſion of an invaſion, the ſpirit of military ardor ſeemed at once to ſeize and pervade the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men, whether friendly or adverſe to the meaſures of the exiſting adminiſtration, eagerly formed themſelves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice acting under temporary commiſſions from the king, till England preſented to her fierce and formidable foe the glorious picture of an armed nation inſpired with the magnanimous reſolution of ſacrificing their lives in defence of their country. From this grand ſpectacle France, which had hitherto cheriſhed the deluſive idea that ſhe had numerous partizans and adherents in Great Britain, ſhrunk back aſtoniſhed and appalled; and the Britiſh miniſtry

miniſtry themſelves at length were compelled reluctantly to acknowledge, that there were perſons of whom it might be truly ſaid, that they were at the ſame time enemies to them and friends to their country *. And indeed, in a too obvious ſenſe, he who was not an enemy to them, and to their raſh, deſperate, and execrable meaſures, could not be a true friend either to himſelf, to his country, or to his ſovereign.

The ſeſſion of parliament cloſed June 29, 1798; and the king in his ſpeech took eſpecial and handſome notice of the heroic ſpirit by which the nation was now univerſally animated.

* By that extremely inſignificant and criminal faction, of Jacobinical and Painite republicans, who maintained a traitorous correſpondence with France, there can be no doubt that the French government was moſt groſsly duped and impoſed upon, in reſpect to the general ſtate of parties and opinions in Great Britain.—"Councils grounded upon foreign advice," —ſays a certain, now almoſt forgotten, writer of the laſt century, who was a ſagacious obſerver of men and things—"or any thing but a viſible experience, do rarely ſucceed. For intereſt, in ſuch as deſire a change, doth not ſeldom make them apprehend more advantages than really there are, and cover doubts and dangers they are privy to, out of a fear to diſhearten the prince they endeavour to embark in their defence. As it fell out here, where not one man appeared in favor of the Spaniards—the very Papiſts themſelves being no leſs unwilling than the reſt to ſee their native country in ſubjection to the ordinary cruelties found in ſtrangers."

OSBORNE'S *Eſſays*.

"The example of your firmneſs and conſtancy," ſaid the monarch to the two houſes of parliament, "has been applauded and followed by my ſubjects in every rank and condition in life. A ſpirit of voluntary and ardent exertion, diffuſed through every part of the kingdom, has ſtrengthened and confirmed our internal ſecurity; the ſame ſentiments have continued to animate my troops of every deſcription, and my fleets have met the menaces of invaſion by blocking up all our enemies in their principal ports."

It is now highly requiſite to take a general view of that ſtate of affairs in Ireland which excited ſuch great and juſt alarm in the parliament and miniſtry of Great Britain. Certain it is, that from the æra of the firſt acquiſition of Ireland by the Engliſh, in the reign of Henry II. to the preſent time, the Iriſh nation, if by the nation is meant the bulk of the people, were never reconciled to the Engliſh government. They were indeed conſidered by England, and they conſidered themſelves, as a conquered people: they regarded the Engliſh government as a yoke, which it was not only lawful but meritorious to throw off, whenever they had the power and the opportunity. The general and obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Iriſh nation in the reign of Elizabeth, to go no further

further back, of Charles I. and of king William, to the whole power of England, affords irrefragable demonſtration of this grand truth. In conſequence of the immenſe confiſcations which ſucceeded the ſuppreſſion of theſe three rebellions, almoſt the whole landed property of the kingdom was transferred to the Engliſh ſettlers and their deſcendants, who formed as it were a diſtinct colony in Ireland, a nation within a nation, differing in manners, cuſtoms, language, and religion; and in whom, as the Iriſh Catholics were deprived of the privileges of the conſtitution, and under a legal proſcription, not only the whole property, but the whole political power and influence of the country, was for a long ſucceſſion of years excluſively veſted. "At Clonnell, near Caſtlereagh," ſays a well known modern writer, "lives O'Connor, the direct deſcendant of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught 700 years ago. His monument, with the enſigns of royalty, is in Roſcommon church. This family has ſuffered more in the revolution of ages than the O'Neils and O'Bryens. The common people, however, pay him great reſpect, and conſider him as the prince of a people involved in one common ruin *."

* *Vide* ARTHUR YOUNG'S 'Tour to Ireland.'

The Engliſh colony in Ireland, or, adopting the phraſe formerly in uſe, "the Engliſh ſettlers within the pale," bearing no proportion in numbers to the genuine native Iriſh, were compelled to depend entirely upon the government of England for ſupport. The Iriſh legiſlature therefore readily, if not willingly, ſubmitted to the ſupreme authority aſſumed by the parliament of England as the price of their ſecurity. Or if they ever ſhewed a diſpoſition to conteſt this legiſlative ſuperiority, as in the reigns of king William and king George I. the reſiſtance was neither very ſerious or permanent. From the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, although the laws againſt popery, till a recent period, ſuffered no relaxation, the government of the country was adminiſtered in the ſpirit of mildneſs. The civilization of the inhabitants and the commercial induſtry of the community increaſed; improvements of all kinds made great and rapid advances; and the Catholics participated, however unequally, in the general proſperity—loſing gradually their attachment to the baniſhed houſe of Stuart, and acquiring with the increaſing liberality of the times additional degrees of light and knowledge. After centuries of animoſity, the Catholics and Proteſtants ſeemed at length to *begin* to conſider themſelves as having a common and national

intereſt

intereſt diſtinct from that of England. The loyalty diſcovered by the Iriſh Catholics during the unfortunate diſputes with America, and the deſire of preſerving and increaſing that attachment, combined with a ſenſe doubtleſs of the injuſtice of the laws under which they ſuffered, induced the government here from time to time to exert its influence in the Iriſh legiſlature, to grant them ſuch relief as they were deemed entitled or qualified to receive: and every new acquiſition of liberty, or exemption from oppreſſion, confirmed and ſtrengthened the impreſſion of a common and national intereſt. The Iriſh legiſlature itſelf ſeemed to encourage the pleaſing and patriotic idea; and ſeeing the great diſtreſs and embarraſſment of England during the laſt years of the American war, Ireland eagerly embraced the golden opportunity to extort from her, firſt the grant of a free trade, and then the recognition of her political independence.

In making theſe demands the Iriſh parliament felt itſelf ſupported by the voice of the whole nation—the intereſt of the Catholics being no leſs concerned than that of the Proteſtants in the one, and their national pride no leſs gratified by the other. But no ſooner had theſe two grand points been carried by the aid and powerful concurrence of the Catholics, than they reverted with keener ſenſibility to

thoſe ſevere unrepealed laws which ſtill placed them, as they conceived, out of the pale of the conſtitution *. They now, therefore, bent all their efforts to obtain a radical reform of the repreſentation; which, as they juſtly believed, would lead to a total abolition of the exiſting penal ſtatutes. But the Iriſh parliament, which had no longer any cauſe of contention with England, received their applications with the higheſt degree of jealouſy and averſion. Whither this radical reform would ultimately tend was indeed too obvious not to excite the ſpirit of determined reſiſtance in the legiſlatures of both countries, who trembled at the apprehenſion of a ſerious inveſtigation of the ſubſiſting abuſes in church and ſtate: and, ſhould a majority of Catholics be elected in conſequence of this reform, the very exiſtence of the Proteſtant government and Proteſtant eſtabliſh-

* "The declared object of the popery laws" (ſays Mr. Burke, in his letter to ſir Hercules Langriſhe,) "was to reduce the Catholics of Ireland to a miſerable populace, without property, without eſtimation, without education.—They divided the nation into two diſtinct bodies, without common intereſt, ſympathy, or connexion. The old code was a complete ſyſtem full of coherence and conſiſtency, well digeſted, and well compoſed, in all its parts; it was a machine of wiſe and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppreſſion, impoveriſhment, and degradation of a people, and the debaſement in them of human-nature itſelf, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." P. 86-87.

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ment in Ireland would be endangered. Though ſome conceſſions were made therefore in ſubordinate matters, every motion brought forward in parliament for a reform in the repreſentation was rejected by vaſt majorities—the influence of the executive government being in perfect uniſon on this point with the inclinations, fears, and prejudices, of the legiſlative body.

In conſequence of their repeated diſappointments, the Iriſh Catholics remained in a ſtate of extreme diſſatisfaction, and almoſt deſpondency, till the great event of the French revolution inſpired them with new hopes and freſh courage. The juſt and noble principles of government promulgated by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, ſo congenial to the feelings of an oppreſſed and perſecuted people, were eagerly and enthuſiaſtically embraced by the Catholics of Ireland; as well as by that large proportion of the Iriſh Proteſtants who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed church,—a great and reſpectable claſs of men, who were formerly for the moſt part adverſe to the claims of the Catholics, but who were now the avowed and zealous defenders of their equity and juſtice.

In the year 1791 the famous ſociety of United Iriſhmen was formed, which profeſſed to have in view the abolition of all legal teſts and proſcriptions; the entire emancipation of the Catholics;

tholics; and a radical reform in parliament:—and there exiſts not the leaſt proof or preſumption that the views of the ſociety at its firſt inſtitution, or for ſeveral years afterward, extended beyond theſe profeſſions, whatever might be the concealed deſign of individuals. The governments of both kingdoms nevertheleſs continued ſtill as inimical as ever both to the reform in parliament and the complete emancipation of the Catholics.

Such was the ſtate of things when Great Britain, againſt every rule of good policy, and even of common ſenſe, entered into the confederacy againſt France. As it was now of the utmoſt importance that the ſpirit of diſcontent in Ireland ſhould not be ſuffered to ariſe to diſaffection, the famous Catholic Toleration Bill was introduced into the Iriſh Parliament in the ſeſſion of 1793, under the ſanction of government, and on the expreſs recommendation of the ſovereign. This bill, in its paſſage through the two houſes, was much cramped and limited in its operation by the ſpirit of bigotry and folly: when paſſed, it was perceived to fall extremely ſhort of its profeſſed object; and the Catholics, diſpleaſed and diſappointed, declared loudly that nothing leſs would ſatisfy them than a complete emancipation and admiſſion to all the privileges of the conſtitution. To this claim the Engliſh

government,

government, whoſe intentions reſpecting the Catholics had not been fulfilled by the late bill, appeared to hearken with favorable attention: and, at the cloſe of the year 1794, earl Fitzwilliam was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with full powers, as he himſelf, and the whole kingdom of Ireland, underſtood, to carry the plan of emancipation into effect.—That thus much might have been conceded with the moſt perfect ſafety, and that the moſt beneficial conſequences would have reſulted from it, there cannot exiſt the ſhadow of a reaſonable doubt: and that the ſpirit of conciliation and of wiſdom might have happily compromiſed the remaining difficulties, relative to parliamentary reform and the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, is ſcarcely more problematical. But by ſome indiſcreet and premature diſmiſſals from office, lord Fitzwilliam alarmed the whole body of "king's friends", Tories, and "Swiſs of State", who would moſt probably have conformed to any plan, however favorable to liberty and liberality (that is, in other words, however contrary to their own malignant prejudices and inclinations), had they been allowed to retain their places. But the immediate conſequence of the too daring attack of lord Fitzwilliam upon this formidable phalanx was the peremptory recall of his lordſhip, the re-inſtatement

re-inſtatement of the diſplaced courtiers, and the grief, rage, and ruin, of the country.

This virtuous and patriotic nobleman was ſucceeded in the government of Ireland, as has been already related, by the earl of Camden; under whoſe diſaſtrous adminiſtration, diſaffection and oppreſſion, each operating alternately as the efficient cauſe of the other, were ſoon carried to a moſt alarming and terrible height. In the month of March 1796 was paſſed the famous Inſurrection Act, empowering the magiſtrates in any county or diſtrict to proclaim it out of the king's peace; and conſequently to ſubject the wretched inhabitants, at their diſcretion, or, in other words, their pleaſure, to military law, under colour of which the moſt horrible outrages were perpetrated.

Nevertheleſs, to the concluſion of that year, the Catholics ſtill flattered themſelves that a change of ſyſtem would take place in their favor; and when the French attempted an invaſion in the month of December, the whole kingdom, Catholics and Proteſtants, forgetting for the time their contentions and animoſities, diſplayed only an emulation of ardor in the national defence,—as the lord-lieutenant himſelf acknowledged in his official diſpatches. But the patience and forbearance of the Catholics was at length exhauſted; and the government,

vernment, ſtill ſhewing itſelf proudly and obſtinately hoſtile to their humble claims, they ſuddenly and totally altered their whole plan of policy; and, in deſpair of obtaining juſtice at home, they entered into dark and dangerous intrigues with the French government, which a ſhort time matured into a ſecret and treaſonable conſpiracy, by the aid and aſſiſtance of that hoſtile power, to ſubvert the exiſting conſtitution of their country, and to diſſolve for ever its connexion with Britain.

Although the impolicy of the Engliſh government in raiſing the hopes of the Iriſh Catholics to the higheſt pitch by the appointment of lord Fitzwilliam, and then daſhing the cup of expectation from their lips by his ſudden recall, is ſo egregious as to admit of no extenuation, it by no means follows that the revolt of the Iriſh Catholics, in actual circumſtances, was to be vindicated upon any true principles of reaſon. To whatever motives it might be aſcribed, no one could controvert the fact that the preſent reign had been to the Catholics a reign of indulgence and conceſſion. By the laſt act of toleration, they wanted, comparatively, but little of being reſtored to the perfect enjoyment of *civil liberty*; and as the current upon the whole ran in their favor, notwithſtanding ſome occaſional and temporary diſappointments, there

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is good ground to believe that, had they conducted themſelves with temper and moderation, they would ultimately have ſucceeded in their attempts to be reſtored to their rights as men and citizens in their fulleſt extent—to their political as well as civil exiſtence. After the act of 1793 they ſuffered under no poſitive oppreſſion; their grievances were thenceforth negative only: and ſurely it is not every error in government, it is not every refuſal to comply with a claim in itſelf juſt and equitable, that will juſtify reſiſtance, or authorize an appeal to arms. Obedience to the magiſtrate is the general rule of duty not to be departed from but on great and extraordinary occaſions, and upon urgent motives, ſuch as can never be pleaded in defence or extenuation of the Iriſh revolt of 1798.

And to view this tranſaction in another light, it may be pronounced no leſs raſh and imprudent than immoral and unjuſt. The number of thoſe who had entered into the aſſociation of United Iriſhmen, who had ſworn fidelity to the rules of the inſtitution, and who had been led on, ſtep by ſtep, to engage in this conſpiracy againſt the government, was indeed prodigious; but ſtill the power both of the ſword and the purſe, that moſt potent of all combinations, was in the hands of the Proteſtants:

tants: and, in caſe of neceſſity, the government of Ireland would, no doubt, be ſupported by the mighty force of Britain. The Iriſh Catholics muſt therefore be reduced to an abſolute dependence upon France in order to eſtabliſh their viſionary independency. But what ſcenes of carnage and of horror muſt the wretched inhabitants of Ireland witneſs before the exiſting government could be ſubverted by the aid of ſuch an ally! And even ſuppoſing the object itſelf attained, did the conduct of France in other countries afford them any rational ground of expectancy that ſhe would act upon principles of equity, moderation, and generoſity, to Ireland? What had been her policy in Belgium, in Lombardy, in Venice? Even Holland, the only country where the French had appeared to obſerve any bounds or limits of moderation, was degraded to the rank of a dependent province;—and ſuch, no doubt, would have been the fate of Ireland, had ſhe ſucceeded in her wild and romantic project of ſeparating herſelf from Great Britain.

So early as the year 1794, the French government had, for the purpoſe of acquiring intelligence, ſent, as an agent into theſe kingdoms, one Jackſon, a native of Ireland, of the clerical profeſſion, who came to England recommended, as far as appears, to no other perſon than a Mr. Stone,

Stone, merchant, at Old-ford near London, whoſe brother, a violent democrat, but a man of ſome parts and plauſibility, had a few years before removed to Paris in order to enjoy the bleſſings of French liberty. The merchant Stone, a man to the laſt degree weak and vain, received this dangerous friend with much hoſpitality, taking pains, in their frequent conferences upon the ſtate of affairs, to convince him of the impolicy and impracticability of any attempt upon England: and to corroborate his own opinion, he obtained from divers highly reſpectable perſons, to whom he had occaſional acceſs, their verbal or written ſentiments to the ſame effect—boaſting in lofty terms the great ſervice he ſhould be able, in conſequence of the communication he held with his brother in France, to render to this country. On applying, however, to Mr. Sheridan, he received very properly for anſwer, "that he would neither receive any information nor give any opinion; and that whatever he had to diſcloſe ought to be addreſſed to the ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Dundas, who would judge of the importance of it."—Upon the whole, Jackſon being convinced that the project of an invaſion of England was hopeleſs, repaired to Ireland, where he ſtill continued his correſpondence with Stone; both writing under feigned names, and in terms of confidence

which

which ſhewed, on the part of Stone, to ſay the leaſt, inconceivable indiſcretion. The correſpondence being intercepted by government, both Jackſon and Stone were in a ſhort time apprehended on a charge of high-treaſon; and the former was convicted on the moſt deciſive evidence. When brought up for ſentence, however, he fell down ſuddenly, and expired before it could be pronounced. Stone, after a long confinement, was alſo tried; but the evidence being by no means clear, and his intentions, with reſpect to England at leaſt, appearing upon the whole innocent, and even laudable, he was, by the candor of the jury, acquitted of the treaſon imputed to him, and ſoon afterwards followed his brother to France.

Immediately on the conviction of Jackſon, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, accounted the original founder of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and ſome other diſtinguiſhed members of that aſſociation, who even thus early had formed deep deſigns againſt the exiſting government, thought it neceſſary to abſcond.

At the commencement of the year 1795 lord Fitzwilliam went over with powers which, had he been fortunately ſuffered to act upon them, would, beyond all queſtion, have completely tranquilliſed the nation. On his departure,

things ſoon began to wear a moſt ſerious aſpect; and the ſociety of United Iriſhmen received an important acceſſion of men of parts and influence;—amongſt others, the celebrated Arthur O'Connor, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a zealous partizan of the meaſures propoſed by lord Fitzwilliam; Dr. M'Nevin, chairman of the Catholic committee; and Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent merchant of Dublin. The general views of the ſociety at this time ſeem to have been lawful and juſt: but thoſe of the leaders went certainly much farther, and very dangerous lengths. Though parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, and the abolition of tythes, were ſtill the profeſſed objects, they appeared from this period to addreſs themſelves much more to the paſſions than to the judgment of the people at large; and to exert unwearied pains to diffuſe opinions calculated to re-kindle in all its antient fury the immortal hatred between the Catholic and Proteſtant ſects—repreſenting to the former the dreadful injuries inflicted upon their anceſtors by the latter, of which the Catholics yet felt the grievous effect: and it has been upon high authority affirmed, that in the province of Leinſter, the common people, at firſt averſe to the meaſures propoſed to them, were terrified into an active concurrence, in conſequence of being aſſured by the emiſſaries

emiſſaries of treaſon that it was neceſſary in their own defence, as their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects had entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy them, having ſworn to wade up to their knees in popiſh blood*.

At the latter end of this year a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the ſociety and the French Directory, through the medium of Mr. Wolfe Tone and other Iriſh refugees. And early in the following year a propoſition was received from the French government, that an army ſhould be ſent over to Ireland to aſſiſt in the projected effort to ſubvert the monarchy, and to ſeparate Ireland from the Britiſh connection. The propoſition was accepted by the ſecret committee of the ſociety, which had now extended itſelf over the whole kingdom, being regularly organized into primary aſſemblies, a certain number of delegates from which compoſed what they ſtyled the baronial committee—whence a ſecond delegation formed the county committee. Delegates in the ſame manner from the county committees conſtituted the provincial committee; and the provincial committees made choice of five perſons, who compoſed the national committee, ſtyling themſelves the Iriſh Executive Directory,

* 'Report of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, A. D. 1799.'

whoſe orders were implicitly obeyed by the members of the union throughout the whole kingdom.

In the ſummer of 1796, lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinſter, and a zealous leader of the aſſociation, in company with Mr. Arthur O'Connor, both members of the Iriſh Directory, repaired to the continent, and, proceeding to Switzerland, held a conference near the French frontier with general Hoche, in which the plan of the invaſion was finally adjuſted. The cauſes which rendered that expedition abortive have been already narrated; but the loyalty diſplayed on that occaſion by the Iriſh commonalty clearly proves that the Iriſh and French Directories had greatly miscalculated concerning the general diſpoſition of the people at this juncture. The Iriſh leaders appeared, however, extremely reſolute in the proſecution of their criminal deſigns; and the alliance with France became, in conſequence of this failure, only the more firmly cemented. One Lewins was nominated reſident miniſter of the IRISH REPUBLIC at Paris; and, in the ſummer of 1797, an ambaſſador extraordinary, Dr. M'Nevin, a member of the Iriſh executive directory, was deputed to Paris to make the neceſſary arrangements for a ſecond invaſion. The French government avoided returning any definitive

definitive anſwer till the iſſue of the negotiation at Liſle was determined; on the rupture of which they were laviſh in their aſſurances of ſpeedy and effectual ſupport.

Two armaments, one from Holland, the other from France, were deſtined to ſail nearly at the ſame time for Ireland; but the total defeat of the Dutch fleet under admiral De Winter by lord Duncan entirely diſconcerted this ſecond plan,—the French government, depending upon this co-operation, not chooſing to riſque the ſafety of their own fleet by permitting it to put to ſea from Breſt after this unlooked-for diſaſter. Thus the favorable moment was loſt: for things were now come to a criſis; and the project of inſurrection, if executed at all, could no longer be deferred.

Notwithſtanding the mutual aſſurances of regard and fraternity which paſſed between the two directories, it is certain that great jealouſies ſubſiſted on the part of Ireland at leaſt, and not without good reaſon, of the ſecret deſigns of the French government, which were ſuſpected to aim at the ultimate ſubjection of the ſiſter republic. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other chiefs of the Iriſh union, abſurdly confident in their own ſtrength, were deſirous of limiting the aſſiſtance of France to 10,000 men and 40,000 ſtand of arms. But the French, who

were not deceived in the magnitude of the undertaking, declared an army of 50,000 men to be requiſite in order to eſtabliſh the *independency* and *liberty* of Ireland. They engaged, however, to ſend ſuch ſuccours as circumſtances would admit in aid of the intended inſurrection, and which would arrive in Ireland at the end of April or the beginning of May *.

At the commencement of the year 1798 a grand effort was reſolved upon. In the month of February a military commiſſion was appointed by the executive council, and inſtructions iſſued to the adjutants-general. Nocturnal aſſemblies were held in all parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the uſe of arms. The boldeſt depredations were made, the moſt unqualified menaces thrown out, and every thing ſeemed to preſage the near approach of a dreadful exploſion. On the other hand, where the king's troops and the Orange volunteer corps prevailed, the moſt horrid barbarities were practiſed upon the perſons, and the moſt ſhocking ravages committed upon the properties, of the aſſociated Iriſhmen; and it ſeemed to be the policy of government to irritate and provoke them into a premature revolt.

The earl of Moira, at this time reſident in

* Report of the Secret Committee (England.)

Ireland,

Ireland, on the 19th of February moved, in the Iriſh houſe of peers, an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, beſeeching his excellency "to purſue ſuch conciliatory meaſures as might allay the apprehenſions, and extinguiſh the diſcontents, unhappily prevalent in the country." This was the laſt almoſt hopeleſs effort of humanity and wiſdom to compoſe the differences, and heal the diſtractions, of this unfortunate and undone country. His lordſhip recapitulated thoſe abominable acts of cruelty and torture, flogging, picketing, half-hanging, &c. &c. by which the confeſſion of crimes had, in innumerable inſtances, been extorted from perſons againſt whom no legal evidence could be adduced, and no reaſonable cauſe even of ſuſpicion exiſted—perſons who, unleſs under the momentary preſſure of excruciating agony, ſtill perſiſted in the avowal of their innocence. His lordſhip declared his intention, if his ſtatement of facts was denied, to move for the examination of witneſſes at the bar of the houſe *. He admitted the probable exiſtence

* "Innumerable are the examples" (ſays a juſtly celebrated writer) "of innocent perſons, who, from the agony of torture, have confeſſed themſelves guilty. Lives there a man who, when he reflects on ſuch cruelty, is not tempted to fly from ſociety, and return to his natural ſtate of independence? The reſult of torture is a matter of calculation, and depends on the conſtitution, which differs in every individual. To

exiſtence of conſpiracy in the kingdom: "but do not (ſaid he), on a looſe charge of partial tranſgreſſion, inflict puniſhment on a whole community. The ſtate of ſociety is dreadful indeed, when the ſafety of every man is at the mercy of a ſecret informer; when the cupidity, the malevolence, or the erroneous ſuſpicions of an individual are ſufficient to deſtroy his neighbour." His lordſhip ſtigmatized, in the ſevereſt terms of reproach, the culpable miſconduct of miniſters in the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, and the final refuſal of government to concede to the Catholics thoſe immunities which would give them a common intereſt with their countrymen. With reſpect to the queſtion of parliamentary reform, though he had himſelf no high idea of its practical benefit, he was of opinion that it had a juſt claim to be candidly inveſtigated, and that the general voice of the country ought to be complied with.

What effect meaſures of conciliation, if adopted at this late period, would have produced, it is not eaſy to conjecture. If they had not ex-

diſcover truth by this method is a problem to be reſolved only by a mathematician; who, when the force of the muſcles, and the ſenſibility of the nerves, of an innocent perſon are preciſely ſtated, may be required to find the degree of pain neceſſary to make him confeſs himſelf guilty of a given crime." BECCARIA *on Crimes and Puniſhments.*

tinguiſhed

tinguiſhed the conſpiracy, they would have extremely diſconcerted the conſpirators, and weakened the bonds of the aſſociation. But there was as little hope on the one ſide as fear on the other, that any ſuch meaſures would be adopted. The lord-chancellor Fitzgibbon, recently created Earl of Clare, ventured boldly to aſſert, "that the ſyſtem of government had been a ſyſtem of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been ſo fairly tried as in Ireland, and in none had it ſo completely failed." His lordſhip adduced ſtrong facts to demonſtrate that the object of the United Society of Iriſhmen was to overthrow the government and diſſolve the Britiſh connection. "He did not juſtify the proceedings of the Orange-men, but he aſſerted that they were not enemies to their country. He did not approve the tortures, burnings, aſſaſſinations, and murderings, of which the noble lord had ſpoken; but he was compelled to obſerve, that when treaſon and rebellion make it neceſſary to call out the military, it is not always poſſible to reſtrain their reſentments."

The lord-chancellor having, in the courſe of his ſpeech, paſſed ſome reflections on the biſhop of Down, who had promoted a petition to the king in favor of conciliatory meaſures, that prelate, with much firmneſs and dignity, vindicated his character from the illiberal aſperſions thus

thus publicly thrown upon it. He acknowledged "that he was a friend to conciliation. Coercion (he ſaid) had been tried long enough. With reſpect to Catholic emancipation, he conſidered it as a matter of right, not of favor; and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the ſtate of the country rendered abſolutely neceſſary: and the preſent calamities of the country he aſcribed to that moſt impolitic and lamentable meaſure, the recall of lord Fitzwilliam." The motion of lord Moira was finally rejected by a very large majority.

It is a memorable circumſtance, that, nine days only after this debate, ſir Ralph Abercrombie, commander-in-chief, declared in public orders, "that the very diſgraceful frequency of courts-martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in that kingdom, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a ſtate of licentiouſneſs which muſt render it formidable to every one but the enemy." This able and highly-reſpected officer was immediately ſuperſeded by general Lake.

Early in the new year, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended Executive Directory, leaving Ireland, had arrived in London, with an intention of proceeding to France in company with one Binns a very active member of the Correſponding Society, James O'Coigley an Iriſh prieſt,

prieſt, and two other perſons of the names of Allen and Leary. During the temporary reſidence of Mr. O'Connor in London, that gentleman, and O'Coigley the prieſt, a man of great courage, activity, and addreſs, kept up a confidential intercourſe with the principal members of the popular ſocieties in London; which, in conſequence of the ſevere and impolitic meaſures of government, had gone on in the uſual progreſſion, from diſcontent to diſaffection; and the object of whoſe moſt daring leaders, for two years paſt, had avowedly been the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh republic by the aſſiſtance of France; and meetings were privately held to concert the means of procuring arms to enable them to cooperate with the French forces in caſe of an invaſion. A traitorous cabal of this ſort was attended by O'Connor and O'Coigley, at an apartment in Furnival's Inn, which was the cuſtomary place of reſort with thoſe who were moſt deeply engaged in the conſpiracy; and ſecret conſultations were here carried on with a view to projects deemed too dangerous and deſperate to be brought forward in any of the larger ſocieties. Amongſt theſe plans, it is pretended, was a moſt horrid one, for effecting a general inſurrection at the ſame moment in the metropolis and throughout the country; and of directing it to the object of ſeizing or aſſaſſinating the king,

king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houſes of parliament. An officer of ſome experience in his majeſty's ſervice was ſelected as their military leader; and though theſe plans were not as yet ſufficiently matured to warrant any preſent attempt, the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained that the time was nearly ripe for meaſures of open violence.

Attempts had been recently made, and with much ſucceſs, to form in this country a ſociety of United Engliſhmen, on the model of that of the United Iriſh, and O'Coigley and Binns were the leading perſons in that deſign. In and about the town of Mancheſter only, the aſſociation had extended itſelf to no leſs than eighty diviſions, containing from fifteen to thirty-ſix members each; and it was organized in like manner with that of Ireland, under the direction of county and provincial committees, &c. the whole being governed by a ſecret executive committee, whoſe orders were implicitly obeyed by all the members of the ſociety. An aſſociation of the ſame nature was alſo eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and both of them maintained an intimate intercourſe with the original Correſponding Society *.

Government

* Theſe particulars are taken from the Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, preſented by Mr. Dundas,

Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and deſigns of O'Connor and his companions, on the 28th of May they were taken into cuſtody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a paſſage to France. Upon the prieſt O'Coigley was found a paper, ſtyled an Addreſs from the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France, clearly demonſtrating the traitorous views of thoſe concerned in the framing or transmiſſion of it to the French government. Being brought to their trial at Maidſtone, in a few weeks, O'Coigley was capitally convicted, on the evidence of the paper in queſtion, of high-treaſon, and immediately executed—ſuffering with heroic fortitude, as a victim in the cauſe of his country, the utmoſt penalties of the law. Nothing beyond preſumptions appearing againſt his companions,—Allen and Leary were, by the lenity of the Engliſh maxims of juriſprudence, ſet at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns, not-

das, January 23, 1799, which, being itſelf founded on the *reports* of the government ſpies, muſt be received with many grains of allowance. The plot for aſſaſſinating the king and royal family, &c. ſeems an incredible extravagance, and has been confirmed by no collateral evidence. Of the diſaffection of the leaders of the popular ſocieties *at this period*, however, there can remain no reaſonable doubt. The "experienced officer" alluded to, is ſuppoſed to have been the unfortunate colonel Deſpard.

withſtanding

withſtanding their acquittal, were detained on another charge of high-treaſon, no doubt on very good grounds, preferred againſt them. The rank in life and connections of O'Connor being very diſtinguiſhed, as the nephew and reputed heir of lord Longueville,—his manners alſo being prepoſſeſſing, and his general integrity of character unimpeached,—he had eaſy introduction to ſome of the firſt families in England, chiefly thoſe connected with the oppoſition; and, from a principle of honor, cautiouſly and carefully concealing from them his real deſigns, he was univerſally believed to have extended his views no farther than the entire emancipation of the Catholics, and a radical reform of parliament upon the principles of the conſtitution. Several perſons, therefore, of the firſt diſtinction and merit appeared at Maidſtone to give evidence to his character as, to the beſt of their knowledge and belief, a true and loyal ſubject, which excited much temporary abuſe and obloquy in the miniſterial prints.

The criſis was now arrived which was to prove fatal either to the government or to the conſpirators. In a complicated plan of conſpiracy, the agency of many perſons muſt be employed; and, as the plot ripens to maturity, the ſecret of it muſt be gradually diſcloſed. Among the perſons admitted to a conſiderable ſhare of

conſidence,

confidence, was one Reynolds, formerly a ſilk manufacturer in Dublin, but now reſident in the county of Kildare. Having been ſworn an United Iriſhman in February 1797, Reynolds was in the following winter appointed treaſurer to the county, and alſo a colonel in the army of the inſurgents. On the 25th of February, 1798, this loyal traitor diſcloſed to a partizan of government, of the name of Cope, the nature and whole extent of the conſpiracy, being particularly careful not to omit that a meeting of delegates for the province of Leinſter was ſummoned for the 12th of March, at the houſe of Mr. Oliver Bond, one of the five executive directors. At the day and hour appointed for the meeting, the houſe of Mr. Bond was beſet by the officers of juſtice. Fourteen of the delegates, with their ſecretary, were apprehended and, at the ſame time, Dr. M'Nevin and counſellor Emmett, both of the directory, and ſeveral other leading members of the ſociety, were taken into cuſtody.

A warrant was alſo iſſued againſt lord Edward Fitzgerald; but he eſcaped, and remained for ſeveral weeks concealed in the city of Dublin, but was at length diſcovered in the houſe of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers. On the police officers entering the room, the unhappy nobleman made a deſperate but hopeleſs, and, againſt men employed in the diſcharge of their public

public duty, very improper defence. He wounded two of the principals, Mr. Juſtice Swan and a captain Ryan, dangerouſly—the latter, as it proved, mortally; and was himſelf ſo ſeverely hurt in the fray, that, the agitation of his mind alſo no doubt contributing to the cataſtrophe, he languiſhed a few days only before he expired. His intentions appear to have been upright, his views diſintereſted, his courage heroic; but he had deeply imbibed thoſe fatally romantic notions in politics which are ſo ill calculated to attain the practical purpoſes at which they profeſs to aim.

Government received alſo full information of the projects of the conſpirators from another quarter. A captain Armſtrong, a man of great art and addreſs, had been inſtructed to profeſs himſelf a convert to the cauſe, to enter into the ſociety, and to obtain, by a ſhew of zeal and all the attentions of aſſiduity, the confidence of the leaders,—in all which he ſucceeded to a very great degree, without exciting the remoteſt ſuſpicion.

The whole body of conſpirators being thrown into the greateſt confuſion and conſternation by the late arreſts, and the whole executive directory being now in ſecure cuſtody, the government, on the 30th of March, publiſhed a proclamation, ſtating, "that the traitorous conſpiracy,

racy, long exiſting within this kingdom, had broken out into acts of open rebellion; and giving notice that the moſt direct and poſitive orders had been iſſued to the officers commanding his majeſty's forces to employ them with the utmoſt vigor and deciſion for the immediate ſuppreſſion thereof." And, on the 18th of April, the internal diſorders and diſtractions of the kingdom daily and almoſt hourly increaſing; major-general Duff gave public notice, "that the lord-lieutenant and council had iſſued orders to him, to quarter troops, to preſs horſes and carriages, to demand forage and proviſions, and to hold courts-martial for the trial of offences of all deſcriptions, civil and military." The general concludes with ſaying, "the people are forewarned, that, in caſe of invaſion from the French, if they ſhould attempt to join the enemy, or communicate with him, or join in any inſurrection, they will be immediately put to death, and their houſes and properties deſtroyed. The general-officers call on the people to know why they ſhould be leſs attached to the government now than they were a year ago, when they ſhewed ſo much loyalty in aſſiſting his majeſty's troops to oppoſe the landing of the French?"

A new executive directory had been appointed by the provincial delegates, amongſt whom were two brothers of the name of Sheares, by

profeſſion barriſters, young men of excellent talents, and, politics apart, of unſullied reputation. To theſe new directors the profligate Armſtrong, early in the month of May, obtained an introduction; and from them he learned "that a general riſing muſt immediately take place,—that the impatience of the people, ſince the criminal proſecutions, could no longer be reſtrained,—that it was become neceſſary to make a great national effort, and relinquiſh the original plan of waiting for French ſuccours." The project propoſed was to ſeize the camp of Loughlinstown, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the caſtle of Dublin, in one night—the 23d of May. It was alſo planned, that a great inſurrection ſhould take place at Cork at the ſame time. But, on the 21ſt of that month, the two brothers, Henry and John Sheares, with ſome others of the principal conſpirators, were apprehended, the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant and council to be in a ſtate of inſurrection; the guards at the caſtle, and all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was, in fact, converted into a garriſon.

By theſe precautions the metropolis was happily preſerved from becoming a ſcene of blood and ſlaughter; but on the day prefixed great bodies of the inſurgents appeared in arms in different

different parts of the country. In a diſpatch from lord Camden to the duke of Portland, May 24, his excellency ſtates, " that at half paſt two that morning a regular attack had been made by a rebel force, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, armed with muſquets and pikes, upon the town of Naas, fourteen miles only from Dublin, but which was repulſed by the Armagh militia, 4th dragoon guards, and Antient Britiſh fencibles, commanded by lord Gosford." Three of the priſoners taken were immediately hanged in the public ſtreets, by way of example.—About the ſame time general Dundas came up with and defeated a large party of the rebels poſted on the north ſide of the Liffy, near the hills of Kilcullen. On the 25th, a body of about 400 rebels, which had ventured to enter Rathfarnham, a village in the vicinity of Dublin, was encountered by a ſmall party of dragoons, and diſperſed with loſs: their two leaders being taken, were immediately tried by a court-martial and executed.

On the 26th of May another and much larger diviſion of the rebel force was defeated at Tallagh-hill, about thirteen miles from the metropolis; and nearly at the ſame time they were repulſed in two different attacks on the towns of Carlow and Kildare—in all theſe actions loſing not leſs than a thouſand or twelve hundred men

in a very few days after the commencement of hoſtilities. But their chief effort was made in the county of Wexford, where they aſſembled in great force between the towns of Wexford and Enniſcorthy, ſituated on the river Slaney; the latter of which places they carried ſword in hand on the 28th of the ſame month. It was impoſſible for Wexford long to hold out, and, on the 30th, the white flag was diſplayed, and the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. A ſcene of horrid diſorder and outrage enſued on the entrance of the rebels into the town. The houſes of the Proteſtants were ranſacked, and great numbers of the inhabitants committed to priſon. Three gentlemen of large property, members of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who had been for ſome time paſt in cuſtody, on a charge of high-treaſon, were at the ſame time liberated, and one of them, Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, nominated to the chief command of the rebel army, though in no reſpect qualified for ſo arduous an office.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the rebels marched, under the conduct of their new general, June the 5th, to the attack of New Roſs, where general Johnſon, an excellent officer, commanded. With a view to diſorder the king's troops, who did not amount to 3,000 men, poſted without-ſide the town, the rebels drove before them with their

their pikes a vaſt number of horſes and oxen. They had alſo ſome field-pieces and howitzers. The weight of the rebel column, after a brave reſiſtance, forced the troops into the town, fortified only by an old ruinous wall. Here the battle re-commenced, and, after a dreadful carnage, the rebels were at length compelled to retreat with great loſs; though the military were prevented by extreme fatigue, the action having laſted eight hours, from attempting a purſuit. The gallant lord Mountjoy was killed early in this engagement, fighting at the head of his own regiment. In revenge for this diſappointment, and by way of retaliation for the numerous executions by martial law which had been inflicted upon their deluded adherents in different places, the rebel chiefs condemned a great number of the loyaliſts of Wexford and Enniſcorthy to death—and this ſentence was carried into effect a few days after, with circumſtances of exceſſive barbarity.

On the 9th of June the rebels made an attempt upon Arklow, with as little ſucceſs as the former upon Roſs. Their circumſtances now became critical—general Lake advancing towards the ſeat of the ſouthern rebellion with large reinforcements. The main body of the rebels, to the amount of 18 or 20,000 men, had taken an uncommonly ſtrong poſition with-

in a mile of Enniſcorthy, upon an eminence called Vinegar-hill, from which, had they poſſeſſed any ſhare of military ſkill, it would have been difficult, if not impracticable, to diſlodge them. A cordon of troops was gradually collected from different quarters, which almoſt ſurrounded the rebel ſtation. The 21ſt of June was deſtined for the grand attack. A column, under general Johnſon, began the fight by an aſſault upon the town of Enniſcorthy, ſituated upon the right bank of the Slaney, immediately under the hill, at the baſe of which that beautiful ſtream flows in a winding channel. Three other columns, under the generals Dundas, Duff, and Needham, aſcended the mountain in different directions. The rebels maintained their ground obſtinately for an hour and a half; but, on perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation, part of them flying to the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of hills ſeparating the counties of Carlow and Wexford. Being purſued with vigor, and no quarter given, they ſuſtained immenſe loſs; while of the king's troops the whole number of killed, wounded, and priſoners, was ſomething leſs than a hundred,—a ſurprizing proof of the ſuperiority of ſkill and diſcipline over mere unenlightened courage.

Wexford was evacuated the next day. General

neral Lake, in his public diſpatch of that date, affirms, that general Moore had entered the place ſo opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in aſhes; and, which was ſtill more intereſting, the premeditated maſſacre of the remaining priſoners—eighty-ſix perſons having been murdered by them the preceding day, military muſic attending and playing a dead march, and their bodies, pierced with pikes, thrown over the bridge. Other horrible cruelties were alſo committed by the rebels on the Proteſtants of that vicinity; and, previous to their retreat from New Roſs, it is ſaid, in particular, that poſitive orders were iſſued by one of the rebel commanders, Murphy, a prieſt, to ſet fire to a large barn at Scollobogue, ſome miles diſtant, where a very conſiderable number of their priſoners, including women and children, were confined, in order to prevent their eſcape—and all periſhed, amidſt ſurrounding ſhouts of ſavage exultation.

Harvey, the rebel general, who had expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of theſe enormities, was diveſted of his command after the battle of Roſs; and their leaders were choſen from the moſt barbarous and bigoted of their own ſect. Having been ſuffered to abſcond, this unhappy man, who ſaw and acknowledged his error when too late, ſought to conceal himſelf in a cave upon one of the rocky iſlands which lie near

the entrance of Wexford-harbour. But being diſcovered, he was immediately tried by a court-martial, and convicted; and, with divers other perſons, executed June the 26th, on the bridge of Wexford. On the ſame day a large body of the rebels, with the bloody bigot father Murphy at their head, who had eſcaped from Vinegar-hill, were defeated by general ſir Charles Aſgill, at Kilconnel,—conſiderably more than a thouſand men being killed on the ſpot, with trifling loſs on the part of the king's troops. Murphy was ſoon after taken in his flight, and moſt deſervedly hanged.

Whatever might be the fond and deluſive hopes entertained by the comparatively very ſmall number of rebel chieftains, who, uninfected by the contagion of religious phrenſy, had embraced the new doctrines of liberty, equality, and univerſal fraternization, it immediately appeared, upon the breaking out of this ſanguinary rebellion, how utterly unable they were to inſpire the bulk of their ignorant, ferocious, and brutal followers with ſentiments of common humanity, or to reſtrain them within the limits of law, equity, or juſtice. The generality of the prieſts who appeared openly in this rebellion took the utmoſt pains to diffuſe, as widely as poſſible, the malignant ſpirit of religious bigotry and inveterate animoſity againſt the Proteſtants,

very

very few of whom were found in the ranks of the rebel army. Thoſe who had been imprudent enough to enter were either obliged carefully to conceal their religion, or ſubmit to be re-baptized by the prieſts, who were continually preaching up, that, in deſtroying heretics, they were performing a duty to heaven. Murphy, one of the moſt popular and profligate of this claſs, in a ſermon delivered by him after the defeat at Roſs, declared, "that thoſe who were killed in that battle had fallen in conſequence of their want of faith—that this general riſing of the Catholics was viſibly the work of God—that the Almighty had determined the heretics, after having reigned ſo many years, ſhould be now extirpated, and the true Catholic religion eſtabliſhed." At the ſucceſsful attack at Three-Rocks, previous to the ſurrender of Wexford, the ſame Murphy marched at their head, telling them "not to fear; for if they took up the duſt from the roads, and threw it at the king's troops, they would fall dead before them." Many of the prieſts pretended to give charms to prevent the balls of the ſoldiery from hurting them; and father Roche, one of the number (as was believed by theſe poor credulous wretches) did conſtantly catch the bullets that came from his majeſty's army in his hand *. Such were the

* Vide "Report of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons."—Alſo "Appendix to Jackſon's Narrative."

baſe

baſe materials with which the raſh and preſumptuous leaders of this rebellion hoped to conſtruct, in the room of the exiſting government, a pure and perfect fabric of uncontaminated democracy! Certainly, a more crude, wild, and viſionary project, never entered into the head or heart of man. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that the higher deſcriptions of Catholics, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, were in any degree implicated in this atrocious revolt, and much leſs that they approved of the mode of conducting it. On the contrary, the whole body of the Catholic prelacy, comprehending the twenty-two titular biſhops and archbiſhops, with the lords Fingal, Southwell, Gormanſtown, and Kenmare, ſir Edward Bellew, ſir Thomas Burke, &c. &c. ſigned and publiſhed a paper, containing a very ſtrong diſſuaſive from joining in the rebellion, and exhortation to all who were concerned in it to return to their allegiance,—declaring, "that, by refuſing to relinquiſh the treaſonable plans in which they are engaged, they will not only ſubject themſelves to the loſs of life and property, but throw on the religion, of which they profeſs to be advocates, the moſt indelible ſtain."

After the great defeat at Enniſcorthy, the rebels were never able to rally, or to appear again in any conſiderable force in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom. In the north, where general

Nugent

Nugent commanded, the inſurrection became general throughout the counties of Down and Antrim. The town of Antrim was for a ſhort time in the poſſeſſion of the rebels, but they were, on the 7th of June, driven out of that place after a ſharp engagement and cannonade. In this action lord O'Neil received a dangerous wound, of which he afterwards died. On the 12th of the ſame month their main force, amounting at moſt to 6 or 7,000 men, was attacked and totally defeated at Ballynahinch. A party of the rebels alſo were repulſed at Carrickfergus; and, in a ſhort time, the generality of the inſurgents laid down their arms, and the tranquillity of Ulſter was reſtored *.

Though

* "The horrible cruelties (ſays a certain writer, zealous in the cauſe of government) exerciſed by the great body of the rebels in Leinſter, on the Proteſtants, ſoon alarmed the few Diſſenters, confederates of the Romiſh inſurgents in the north. They immediately ſaw into the real deſign of their new allies; and withdrawing themſelves from a conſpiracy, which they clearly perceived would in its ſucceſs be attended with their own deſtruction, all projects of rebellion vaniſhed in the province of Ulſter. Rebellion there was but partially entertained; it never had very numerous partizans; and the flame, thus feeble, was eaſily quenched, never to be re-kindled. —The great ſtrength of the rebellion lay in the province of Leinſter. The whole maſs of the Romiſh inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, roſe at once. Many inhabitants of the adjacent counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the ſame religious perſuaſion, joined

Though no diſſatisfaction was expreſſed at the conduct of lord Camden, it was deemed proper by the Engliſh cabinet, that, in the exiſting circumſtances, Ireland ſhould be placed under the government of a military lord-lieutenant, who might, nevertheleſs, be of a temper leſs obdurate than the preſent viceroy;—and an happy choice was made in the perſon of the marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June; and under his auſpices the general ſyſtem of government immediately changed to that of moderation and lenity. Some ſevere examples were, however, deemed abſolutely neceſſary; and a ſpecial commiſſion was, in a ſhort time, opened in Dublin for the trial of the principal delinquents. At the bar of this court the brothers, John and Henry Sheares; M'Can, ſecretary to the provincial meeting; and O'Byrne, a noted member of the United Aſſociation; were all tried and executed. Mr. Oliver Bond was likewiſe tried on the 23d of July, convicted and condemned;

joined them. Their number in arms at one time amounted to upwards of 50,000 men. Confiding in this ſtrength, they did not think it neceſſary to conceal their deſigns of extirpating the Proteſtants:—the exciſion of all heretics they, on the contrary, proclaimed to be their object and intention, and evinced by their actions the ſincerity of this declaration."

DUIGENAN'S '*Repreſentation of the Political State of Ireland*.,

and

and in his fate the other conſpirators now began to read and foreſee their own.

The rebellion was by this time apparently cruſhed: the people were every-where returning to their allegiance, and delivering up their arms. Their hopes from France had been miſerably diſappointed, and nothing appeared before their eyes but individual deſtruction, without having effected any one purpoſe for which they had aſſociated. In theſe circumſtances it was intimated, on the part of government, that if Mr. Bond would conſent to give to adminiſtration all the information of which he was poſſeſſed, relative to the late conſpiracy and rebellion, his ſentence might be commuted for that of baniſhment. This propoſition was nobly rejected by Bond, if his information or evidence ſhould endanger the life of any man with whom he was connected. The mercy of government was then extended to all the ſtate priſoners, including O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin; who acceded to the terms offered, on condition they ſhould be at liberty voluntarily to tranſport themſelves to any country not at war with his majeſty, and that no further proſecution ſhould be carried on, except againſt actual murderers, or ſuch rebels as ſhould be hereafter taken in arms. A general amneſty, with a few exceptions, was ſoon after granted by the chief-

governor,

governor, and confirmed in parliament. The ſyſtem of moderation and mercy adopted by this reſpectable nobleman was peculiarly ſeaſonable, and attended with the happieſt effects. Moſt of the rebel corps, who had retreated to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow, took the benefit of the amneſty, and laid down their arms: thoſe who ſtill reſiſted were rather banditti, who confined themſelves to nocturnal depredations, than troops in arms againſt the government.

Thus was the kingdom of Ireland once more reduced to peaceable ſubjection to the crown of Great Britain, and a dangerous rebellion cruſhed, which, had the government of the country been previouſly actuated by the beneficent ſpirit of the nobleman who now filled the higheſt office in it, would never have exiſted.—"To hinder inſurrection (ſays a great and juſtly celebrated writer) by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no ſubjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity in politics: to ſoften the obdurate, to convince the miſtaken, to mollify the reſentful, are worthy of a ſtateſman; but it affords a legiſlator little ſelf-applauſe to conſider that where there was formerly an inſurrection there is now a wilderneſs*."

Contrary to the general ſpirit of the now

* Johnson's '*Tour to the Hebrides.*'

prevailing

prevailing ſyſtem, and contrary alſo, it is probable, to the private ſentiments of the good and worthy chief-governor, a bill was introduced into parliament, which, at a very late period of the ſummer, was ſtill ſitting, for the confiſcation and forfeiture of the eſtates of lord Edward Fitzgerald, Bagnal Harvey, and Cornelius Grojan, a man of large property, who had ſuffered in this rebellion,—and finally paſſed into an act. The caſe of the former, who had neither been tried nor convicted, was deemed peculiarly hard. The celebrated advocate Curran pleaded with great eloquence at the bar of the houſe againſt the bill of attainder. "Often have I, of late years, (ſaid this great ornament of his profeſſion) gone to the dungeon of the captive, but never yet to the grave of the deceaſed, to receive inſtructions for his defence:—Never have I, till now, been called upon to plead at the trial o the dead! What might perhaps have admitted of eaſy explanation, during the life-time of the accuſed, muſt now be for ever buried with him in ſilence. The preſent bill convicts where proof is impoſſible, and puniſhes where guilt cannot exiſt: it confiſcates the property of the widow, and robs the orphan's cradle. A ſtate muſt be reduced to the loweſt degradation, when it is driven to ſeek protection in the abandonment

ment of the law,—in that melancholy avowal of its weakneſs and its fears."

It is remarkable, that, for the ſpace of near three weeks of the month of June, during which the rebels were in poſſeſſion of Wexford, and their armies were in that part of the country maſters of the field, no ſupply of men, arms, ammunition, or ſtores of any kind, arrived from France, although the Directory had poſitively engaged that an armament ſhould fail to their aſſiſtance, at the latter end of April, or, at the fartheſt, early in the month of May; but when the inſurrection was completely quelled, and no proſpect of ſucceſs remained, a ſmall French ſquadron, part of a much larger force deſtined for the ſame ſervice, appeared on the coaſt of Connaught, and, on the 22d of Auguſt, caſt anchor in the Bay of Killala, where the troops on board diſembarked; and the number not being aſcertained, a very great temporary alarm was excited. According to the very candid and intereſting Narrative publiſhed by the biſhop of Killala (Dr. Stock), the French troops, who were under the command of a general Humbert, ſecond in rank to general Hoche in the expedition of December 1796 to Bantry-Bay, conducted themſelves with the moſt exemplary moderation. They were ſoon joined by ſeveral thouſands

thouſands of the Iriſh peaſantry, all Catholics; and the French officers expreſſed the utmoſt chagrin and ſurprize that the Proteſtants continued, to a man, firm in their attachment to the government. The epiſcopal palace was made the head-quarters; and a green flag was mounted over the gate, with the famous inſcription:—"ERIN GO BRAGH!—Ireland for ever!"

In a few days the invaders, to the number of 1100, leaving a ſmall garriſon at Killala, began their march, with the diſloyal natives whom they had clothed and armed, to Caſtlebar, the chief town of the county of Mayo. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the barbarous Iriſh could be reſtrained from acts of the moſt licentious diſorder. On the 27th general Humbert reached Caſtlebar, where general Lake was poſted, with a force far ſuperior, to intercept him; but, before the weakneſs of the enemy could be aſcertained, the Britiſh troops found themſelves attacked by ſurprize; and, after a reſiſtance not very vigorous, were compelled to retreat, with the loſs of 800 men and ten pieces of cannon. Caſtlebar immediately ſurrendered; and the French were ſtrengthened by many deſerters, chiefly from the different regiments of militia.

Lord Cornwallis now determined to take the field in perſon, and, the general diſaffection of

the country being known, to proceed with the utmoſt caution and vigilance, leaving nothing to chance or fortune. After the action at Caſtlebar the French had moved, with their whole force, towards Tuam; but the lord-lieutenant, having by this time collected a great army, with which he propoſed to incloſe them on all ſides, general Humbert was obliged to retreat in his return; and, entertaining from the firſt no hope of ultimate ſucceſs, he made a circuitous march, in order to afford the natives an opportunity of eſcape, which the far greater number embraced. On the morning of the 8th of September, the van-guard of the Britiſh army came up with the rear of the French at Ballinamuck; and, after ſhort but gallant reſiſtance, the French, being ſummoned to lay down their arms, ſurrendered at diſcretion; but the rebels who remained with them, fleeing in all directions, ſuffered very ſeverely. When the return of the French priſoners was made, the public were ſurprized to find that this formidable hoſt amounted to no more, officers included, than the contemptible number of 844. The garriſon left at Killala could make no effectual reſiſtance to the force ſent againſt them; but the natives, in conjunction with the French troops, defended the place with great bravery; and it was at laſt taken ſword in hand. The behaviour of colonel

Charoſt,

Charoſt, who commanded at Killala, was marked throughout by valor, tempered with honor and humanity. After the re-capture of the biſhop's palace, ſuch was the diſcipline preſerved, that not a ſingle article of private property was found miſſing. Even the ſide-board of plate remained untouched; and when the commandant was applied to, by a popiſh prieſt of ſome pretenſions to literature, for a preſent of books out of the biſhop's library, he replied with diſdain—"The biſhop's library is juſt as much his own now as ever it was."

A ſecond attempt, equally abſurd and unaccountable, was made by the French in the following month; when a ſquadron from Breſt, conſiſting of one ſhip of the line, the Hoche of eighty guns, and eight frigates, were deſcried off the coaſt of Ulſter by admiral Sir John Borlaſe Warren, who commanded a ſquadron of far ſuperior force on that ſtation. At ſeven o'clock on the morning of the 12th of October the action commenced, and at eleven the Hoche, after a gallant defence, ſtruck her flag. Six of the frigates were alſo captured; and thus ended the projects of the French Directory for the conqueſt of Ireland.

Amongſt the priſoners taken in the Hoche was the famous Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, and

the moſt active and able of the agents employed by them abroad. He was brought to Dublin, and tried there by a court-martial. Far from attempting to deny or extenuate his offence, he avowed with the moſt heroic firmneſs the part he had acted, and gloried in the treaſon for which he was arraigned. "Into the ſervice of the French republic (ſaid this virtuous and high-minded, however miſtaken, patriot) I originally entered with the view of ſerving my country. From that motive I have encountered the toils and terrors of the field of battle; I have braved the dangers of the ſea, covered with the triumphant fleets of the power I oppoſed; I have ſacrificed my proſpects in life; I have courted poverty; I have left my wife unprotected, and my children fatherleſs. After doing this, for what I thought a good cauſe, it is but little that I die for it. In ſuch a cauſe as this ſucceſs is every thing. I have attempted that in which Waſhington ſucceeded and Koſciuſko failed. What awaits me I am aware of, but I ſcorn to ſupplicate or to complain. Whatever I have written, ſpoken, or acted, in relation to this country, and its connexion with Great Britain, which I conceived to be the bane of its proſperity, I here avow, and am now ready to meet the conſequence. Having ſuſtained an high rank in the French ſervice, I only wiſh, if

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the court poſſeſſes ſuch a diſcretionary power, that they will award me the death of a ſoldier."—After a long pauſe, no doubt of involuntary admiration and regret, he was informed that his requeſt would be ſubmitted to his Excellency. Finding, however, the little probability of ſucceeding in his application, he terminated his life in priſon by an act of violence. As this extraordinary man was the original author, his trial might be conſidered alſo as the laſt concluding ſcene, of this ſhort but bloody rebellion, in which, upon a moderate computation, more than twenty thouſand lives were loſt, and a great part of the kingdom exhibited a horrid ſpectacle of miſery and deſolation. Such are the direful conſequences of civil diſcord! and ſuch the deplorable effects reſulting from the want in government of that ſublime part of wiſdom neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs!

From this important review of domeſtic concerns, it is requiſite to transfer our attention to the military and political tranſactions of the continent.

On the departure of general Buonaparte from Italy, in November 1797, every thing wore the face of external tranquillity; but the interior agitation of Lombardy, of Rome, of Naples, was ſtill very great. Although the peace of

Tolentino had prolonged the political exiſtence of the Holy See, it had been left in a ſtate of extreme embarraſſment. The counter-revolutionary hopes of the Roman pontiff were completely annihilated; three of his provinces irremediably loſt; his coffers exhauſted; his ſubjects, laboring under new and heavy oppreſſions, univerſally diſcontented, and, with few exceptions, divided into the two oppoſite and hoſtile claſſes of political enthuſiaſts and religious fanatics. The king of Spain had conceived great indignation againſt the pope for rejecting the counſels and mediation of his ambaſſador, the chevalier d'Azara, and ordered him to retire to Florence. But, compaſſionating the misfortunes of the holy father, he, after a ſhort interval, not only permitted the ambaſſador to return to Rome, but alſo ſent from Spain a deputation of friendſhip and condolence, conſiſting of the cardinal archbiſhop of Toledo, and the archbiſhops of Seville and Seleucia.

Amongſt the many ſubjects of complaint againſt the government of the pope was his extravagant fondneſs for his nephews, the cardinal and duke of Braſchi; the latter of whom had long been loaded with the ſpoils and execrations of the people, whoſe curſes were now become loud as well as deep. Inſurrectionary placards were ſtuck up at his palace; French

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airs were ſung in public; and the political demiſe of the Holy See was mentioned without ſcruple, as an event which might ſoon be expected to take place, and as already in the act of receiving *extreme unction*. On the other hand, for all which was wanting in eſteem or affection, the court of Rome endeavoured to compenſate in fear. The garriſon of St. Angelo was augmented—troops were quartered in the city—the ſyſtem of *eſpionage* became univerſal, and many of the inhabitants were arreſted and impriſoned on different grounds of ſuſpicion. The pope himſelf could not appear in public without receiving marks of the general contempt, not to ſay hatred, entertained for his perſon and government. In this diſtracted ſituation of affairs Joſeph Buonaparte, brother of the general, entered Rome as ambaſſador from the French republic. The conduct of this miniſter is allowed by all to have been mild and judicious. In conſequence of his influence over the papal counſels, the perſons impriſoned for their political opinions were releaſed; the Auſtrian general Provera was diſmiſſed; and the holy father recognized the new Ciſalpine republic. Alſo an act of grace paſſed for the pardon of all offences. But the ambaſſador diſcouraged in the moſt deciſive manner all the overtures made to him for the ſubverſion of the papal go-

vernment.—Nevertheleſs, on the 28th of December, a popular inſurrection took place; and the inſurgents entering forcibly into the courts of the ambaſſador's palace, made them re-echo with the cry of The Roman republic! and The Roman people!—demanding the aid of the French in order to aſſure their liberty. The ambaſſador appearing with the inſignia of his office, attended by the generals Duphot and Sherlock, remonſtrated with the inſurgents on the folly and raſhneſs of their conduct, and commanded them forthwith to diſperſe. In the mean time an armed force, ſent by the governor of the city, arrived at the palace, and a party of cavalry diſcharged their carbines upon the inſurgents. M. Buonaparte, immediately advancing, demanded by what authority they had violated his juriſdiction? when a ſecond diſcharge killed ſeveral perſons in the rear of the ambaſſador and his train. The French miniſter now conjured the ſoldiery to withdraw; engaging that the delinquents ſhould be delivered up and puniſhed. Regardleſs of this repreſentation, they were preparing for another diſcharge, which general Duphot ruſhing forward to prevent, a ſcene of the greateſt confuſion enſued, and the general was mortally wounded by a fuſileer, who fired the contents of his muſquet into his body. The ambaſſador immediately

immediately retreated, not without hazard and difficulty, through a private paſſage, into the gardens of his palace, the courts of which were now ſtrewed with the killed and wounded bodies of the inſurgents.

In conſequence of this atrocious outrage the French miniſter withdrew with indignation from Rome, and retired to Florence. The holy father, who was ſaid to be ignorant of the whole tranſaction, after imploring in vain the mediation of the chevalier d'Azara, ordered his ſecretary of ſtate, cardinal Doria, to write to the marquis Maſimi, the Roman miniſter at Paris, in the following terms: "You muſt not offer any ſatisfaction for this event, which has rendered the holy father and all of us inconſolable; but you muſt entreat the Directory to point out what ſatisfaction they require. To aſk it and to obtain it ſhall be the ſame thing."

On the 17th of January, 1798, before any anſwer could be returned, the pope appointed a ſolemn proceſſion of the three moſt celebrated relics in Rome; and in the proclamation, publiſhed on this occaſion, the pontiff thus expreſſed and expoſed his weakneſs:—"Your faith ſhall be animated by the ſight of ſacred and holy objects, which the clergy ſhall conduct with devout pomp through the ſtreets to St. Peter's, expoſing to public veneration for ſeveral days

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on the high altar the venerable, moſt antient, and wonderful portrait of the moſt holy Saviour —alſo the miraculous picture of the Santa Maria in portico—and the ſacred chains wherewith the prince of the apoſtles was fettered. To any one, who in the aforeſaid days ſhall viſit St. Peter's, reciting before the above-mentioned ſacred monuments the prayer beginning *Ante oculos tuos, Domine! &c.* or, in lieu of it, will repeat ten times the Pater-noſter and the Ave Maria, praying as above, his holineſs grants for each time, in each day, an indulgence for ten years and forty days *."

Previous to the proceſſion the ſtreets were ſtrewed with flowers and myrtles; all the religious orders, in their reſpective habits, and the cardinals, followed, with an immenſe concourſe of people, many of the firſt diſtinction, bare-foot. Theſe ineſtimable relics remained for three weeks on the high altar of St. Peter's, and were then exhibited in the churches of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Giovanni in Laterano. During this interval Rome appeared particularly gay, all perſons being dreſſed in their richeſt habili-

* The portrait of the moſt holy Saviour here mentioned, and ſuppoſed to have been painted by ſupernatural agency, was known by the appellation of *Il Santo Volto.* It had not been publicly exhibited ſince the year 1709, after a terrible earthquake.

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ments; ſo that the city had rather the appearance of a carnival than of a mourning penance to avert its fall *.

Meanwhile the French and Cisalpine armies were advancing with rapid ſteps under the command of general Berthier. The march was nothing more than a military proceſſion; for where no reſiſtance was offered, no force was neceſſary to be exerted. On his entrance into Rome, February 10th, the general declared, by a proclamation, that he came to puniſh the murderers of Duphot, and that the people of Rome ſhould find in the French army protectors and friends. This language was no longer calculated to deceive. The caſtle of St. Angelo was immediately ſummoned; and the pope and cardinals, who had there taken refuge, ſurrendered at diſcretion; three only having previouſly provided for their eſcape—the cardinal nephew Braſchi, York, and Albani.

* *Vide* 'Narrative of Duppa.' It is impoſſible to read the papal proclamation upon this occaſion without emotions of indignant contempt. "The nations of Europe," ſays Mr. Burke, (Regicide Peace) "have the very ſame Chriſtian religion, agreeing in the fundamental parts, varying a little in the ceremonies and in the ſubordinate doctrines." It might certainly with as much plauſibility be affirmed, that the profeſſors of rational and genuine Chriſtianity agree with the Mufti of Conſtantinople, or the Grand Lama of Tartary, in their religion, as with the pope of Rome, whoſe claims are indeed the moſt impious and impudent of the three.

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On the 15th of the ſame month, the people of Rome, or that part of them at leaſt which had imbibed the revolutionary ſpirit, made a general inſurrectionary movement, unattended, however, with acts of violence, and proceeded to plant the tree of liberty in the Capitol. Till this moment, general Berthier had choſen to remain with his army encamped without the walls of the city. As a laſt effort, the pontiff ſent a deputation at this criſis to the general, offering provinces upon provinces, and millions upon millions, with the utmoſt profuſion, as the price of his political reſtoration: but the general refuſed with diſdain to receive any deputation or meſſage but from the Roman people. Intelligence of the late glorious event being received nearly at the ſame time, the general accepted the invitation given him to accompany the people in ſolemn proceſſion to the Capitol, to ſanction, by his preſence, the revolution which had taken place. Preceded by military muſic and detachments of horſe and foot, general Berthier accordingly traverſed Rome amidſt an immenſe crowd of people, gazing with anxious curioſity, and ſtill uncertain of their fate.

The reſtoration of the Roman republic being formally proclaimed, the general made the following ſpeech:—"Manes of Cato, of Pompey, and of Brutus! of Cicero, and of Hortenſius!

tenſius! accept the homage of the French! become free in the Capitol where you have ſo often defended the rights of the people, and added new glories to the Roman republic! The deſcendants of the Gauls, with the olive in their hand, now repair to this auguſt ſpot to re-eſtabliſh the altars of liberty erected by the Elder Brutus.—And you, people of Rome! who have regained your lawful rights, call to remembrance the monuments of glory that ſurround you;—reſume your antient greatneſs, and emulate the virtues of your anceſtors!"

Inſtead of loud acclamations, as might have been expected, this ſpeech, and the proclamation which preceded it, were heard in profound ſilence.

During this ceremony the pope was celebrating maſs in the Siſtine chapel, it being the anniverſary of his acceſſion; in the midſt of which Haller, the French commiſſary-general, entered the chapel, and announced to the ſovereign pontiff that his reign was at an end. A proviſional government was ſubſtituted, under the popular appellation of a conſulate, conſiſting of ſix members—of which Rigault, a lawyer of eminence, was named preſident. The preſence of the holy father was judged by the newly-erected government to be incompatible with

with the tranquillity of the ſtate. Early therefore on the morning of the 20th of February he left Rome, and ſoon after arrived at Sienna, where he was received into the monaſtery of St. Barbe—the monks ſorrowfully welcoming him at their gates, and offering all that their convent could beſtow, to conſole him for his fallen honors. On the 26th he reached Florence, retiring to a Carthuſian convent within two miles of that city; where he ſeemed, in a beautiful and ſequeſtered reſidence, to forget his misfortunes; and found in his ſolitude an unwonted and dignified tranquillity, which commanded reſpect, and even approached to happineſs. Nor could it be deemed wonderful, however exceptionable ſome parts of his conduct, that he was unable to weather the ſtorm, in which the bark of St. Peter would have ſunk with a pilot much abler than himſelf.

The temporal power entruſted by the French general to the proviſionary government was at length confirmed by a regular conſtitution, made at Paris, on the model of the French; but in which the names of conſuls, ſenate, tribunes, quæſtors, and other claſſic titles, ſuperſeded the vulgar appellations of commiſſioners and councils. But the real power was, under this ſpecious veil of liberty, veſted in the French commander,

mander, to whom an expreſs clauſe of the new conſtitution allowed a *veto* in the formation of laws for ten years.

By the thoughtleſs prodigality of the papal government, and the recent exactions of the French, every legitimate ſource of wealth was exhauſted: recourſe was therefore had, without heſitation, by the *protectors* of the new republic, to every ſpecies of pillage and plunder. The Vatican and Quirinal palaces were ſtripped of their rich and coſtly furniture—and the former even of a great part of its literary treaſures: alſo thoſe at Monte Cavallo, Terracina, and Caſtel Gandolfo. The ſacerdotal veſtments of the Siſtine, Pauline, and other pontifical chapels, were burnt for the gold and ſilver of the embroidery. And this ſyſtem of devaſtation extended to the generality of the churches, and ſome noble manſions of obnoxious individuals. The Villa Albani in particular, unrivalled for exquiſite works of art and the beauty of its ſituation and architecture, was laid in ruins—a melancholy monument of the Vandaliſm of the eighteenth century. Yet was the conduct of the French troops, both officers and men, to the inhabitants in general, orderly and exemplary; and private property and perſonal liberty were reſpected in a degree which ſeems ſcarcely compatible with their public rapacity. And in the

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ſyſtem of police now enforced a ſtriking contraſt was exhibited to the feeble yet direful dominion of Pius VI. under whoſe reign each individual became the arbiter of his own wrong, and in whoſe pontificate it was reckoned that 18,000 perſons were murdered in public and private quarrels in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate alone.

On the 20th of March the ceremony of the inauguration of the new government was performed in the middle of the great piazza of St. Peter's. The conſuls, ſtretching out their hands over the altar there erected, ſwore eternal hatred to monarchy, and fidelity to the republic. This ſolemn tranſaction was accompanied with bands of muſic and the firing of cannon, and at night the dome of St. Peter's was illuminated: but there was no ſhouting, no voluntary marks either of approbation or diſapprobation. The people of Rome had loſt every idea of liberty, and appeared to regard themſelves as mere ſpectators of the ſcene, and to feel no emotion beyond that of ſtupid and ignorant ſurprize *.

The next victim ſingled out by the rapacity of the directorial government of France was the antient and celebrated republic of the Helvetic confederacy. The name of Switzerland

* *Vide* DUPPA's Account of the Subverſion of the Papal Government.

cannot

cannot be pronounced without emotion by thoſe who have witneſſed the happy effects of the rude and imperfect ſyſtem of liberty enjoyed by the inhabitants of this ſecluded country, when compared with the oppreſſion and miſery reſulting from the horrid deſpotiſm by which ſhe was every-where ſurrounded: "La habite (ſays an elegant writer, M. de Mehegan) d'un peuple ſimple, bienfaiſant, brave, ennemi du faſte, ami du travail, ne cherchant point d'eſclaves, et ne voulant point des maîtres."

On a ſurvey of the conſtitutions of the ſeveral ſtates which compoſed the Helvetic union, itſelf founded on the right of reſiſtance to tyranny, it muſt excite no little ſurprize to find that the government of the greater cantons, whether Catholic or Proteſtant, was that of ariſtocracy, tempered and moderated indeed by a partial repreſentation at Zurich; but at Berne, Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, without the ſmalleſt mixture of democracy. On the other hand it is equally remarkable, that the ſmaller cantons, Glaris, Schweitz, Underwalden, Appenzel, Uri, and Zug, were democratic, without the ſlighteſt mixture of ariſtocracy—Baſle and Schaffhauſen alone of this claſs inclining to the conſtitution of Zurich. In the cantons purely democratic the inhabitants at large met annually in an open field or plain to chooſe

their magiſtrates; and the queſtion was then put publicly to them, whether they choſe to continue for another year the laws of their canton?

This political intermixture of the different cantons was extremely conducive to the happineſs of the whole: and although the governments of the greater cantons were in themſelves unfavorable, the eſtabliſhed laws, manners, and cuſtoms of the country, were decidedly favorable to civil freedom. The ariſtocratical canton of Berne in particular, by far the largeſt and moſt powerful of the union, governing its ſubjects with paternal mildneſs and wiſdom, the general effect produced was the public happineſs; and the people felt themſelves ſecure in perſon and in property. They were therefore content and ſatisfied, wiſhing not for changes, nor thinking of reforms. The juſt and moderate ſpirit of government, by gaining the affections of the people, ſtrengthened the barriers of their own authority, and erected the image of a free conſtitution on the incongruous baſis of political deſpotiſm. "The magiſtrates of Berne (ſays a celebrated writer) *muſt* reign with prudence and equity, ſince they are unarmed in the midſt of an armed nation *."

* Gibbon.—*Vide* alſo Coxe's Travels, and Wood's Hiſtory of Switzerland, &c. &c.

At

At the commencement of the French revolution the attention of all countries, and particularly of thoſe which bordered upon France, were turned to the ſubject of government; and in Switzerland above all others—the inhabitants of which were aſtoniſhed, on reflection, to find that they had ſo long ſubmitted, and ſo tamely, to ſuch defective forms of government. The ariſtocracy of Berne now began to feel its own weakneſs; but, far from introducing ſome voluntary and ſeaſonable melioration of their own deſpotic conſtitution, they exerted every poſſible effort to cruſh in their birth thoſe new principles of liberty which, however abuſed in practice, muſt ever be acknowledged in theory beautiful and juſt. "It is certain (ſays a writer of great authority on this point) that the republic of Berne thinks itſelf obliged to a vigilance next to hoſtile, and to impriſon or expel all the French whom they find in their territories *." This being the caſe, it would naturally follow that the French government muſt regard that of Berne with an eye no leſs jealous and reſentful; and ſymptoms of this reciprocal animoſity in a very ſhort time began to manifeſt themſelves.

In the autumn of 1789 ſeveral literary and ſcientific ſocieties eſtabliſhed at Berne, Lauſanne,

* Burke's Memorial on the State of Affairs, 1791.

Baſle, &c. tranſmitted congratulatory addreſſes to the French Convention upon the attainment of the national liberty: and in the ſimilar ſocieties of Zurich and Lucerne a very revolutionary ſpirit early diſplayed itſelf, which required the utmoſt wiſdom to regulate, as it was impoſſible in the nature of things it could in the actual circumſtances be extinguiſhed. They had recently ſeen the natural and unalienable rights of man formally and publicly recognized by the moſt powerful nation upon earth—a nation with which their own was cloſely connected by contiguity and alliance; and, as is forcibly obſerved by a celebrated writer, "the formal recognition by the ſovereign power of an original right in the ſubject can never be ſubverted, but by rooting up the radical principles of government, and even of ſociety itſelf*."

In no part of the Helvetic territory had the revolutionary principles of France made greater progreſs than in the Pays-de-Vaud, a diſtrict ſubject to the government of Berne: Lauſanne, the capital of this delightful province, being the chief reſort of intelligent ſtrangers, and famous for the liberality and urbanity of its inhabitants. On the 14th of July, 1791, the anniverſary of

* Burke's Speech on the India Bill.

the

the French revolution was commemorated with great demonſtrations of joy all over the Pays-de-Vaud and the neighbouring diſtricts: patriotic toaſts were drunk, French airs were ſung, and the enſigns of liberty paraded with univerſal acclamation. The government of Berne, which trembled with rage and fear at the rapid diffuſion of theſe ſentiments, now at laſt, in an evil hour, reſolved to interpoſe its ſovereign authority, in order to counteract this great and growing miſchief. A ſpecial tribunal was ſent into the Pays-de-Vaud, under the protection of 2,000 ſoldiers, commanded by general d'Erlach, well known as an high and arbitrary ariſtocrat, with fifteen pieces of cannon. The troops took up their reſidence at Lauſanne—the church of St. Francis, the hoſpital, the college, and the public granaries, being all turned into barracks. In order to ſtrike terror into the inhabitants, two cannons, with lighted matches, were planted in the market-place. Other troops were ſtationed in different parts of the province, and the whole country was laid under military ſubjection.

The high court having opened its commiſſion, two of the principal citizens, Roſel and Muller de la Mothe, were tried, and ſentenced to no leſs than twenty-five years' impriſonment to the dungeons of Meudon. Others to inferior penalties. But the proſecution which, beyond all

others, excited the greateſt aſtoniſhment and indignation was that of M. de la Harpe, baron of Yens, a man of the firſt property and influence in the province, whoſe talents were of the higheſt claſs, and whoſe character was ſuch as made him the object of univerſal eſteem and reverence. This diſtinguiſhed perſon, finding that it was intended to proceed againſt him with great ſeverity, and for no other offence than that of having joined conſpicuouſly in the celebration of the late anniverſary, ſeaſonably withdrew to Geneva, whence he wrote to the judges of the new tribunal, "that having received the moſt preſſing warnings of his danger, he had thought it neceſſary to take this ſtep; but that he was ready to appear before the court as ſoon as he had ſatisfactory aſſurance that his caſe would be impartially inveſtigated." After being twice ſummoned, he was, on his non-appearance, accuſed of high-treaſon; and, being condemned by the court, he was ſentenced to be beheaded, and his property was confiſcated to the benefit of the ſtate. Such were the meaſures adopted by the government of Berne, and enforced by others of a like tendency in the other ariſtocratic cantons, to demonſtrate how ill-founded were the ideas of thoſe who aimed at a melioration of the exiſting conſtitution of Switzerland. In April 1792 the celebrated Gibbon returning to Lauſanne,

ſanne, after a temporary and not very long abſence, ſays, "I never knew any place ſo much changed as Lauſanne. Some are taken up, ſeveral are fled, many more are ſuſpected and ſuſpicious. All are ſilent; but it is the ſilence of fear and diſcontent."

The virtuous and gallant La Harpe, thus caſt off by his country, of which he was the ornament, and would have been, if needful, the defender, retired into France, and obtained an honorable command in the French army, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the courſe of five ſucceſſive years no leſs by his conduct than his courage. He fell in the ſpring of 1796, at an early period of the firſt Italian campaign of Buonaparte. His death overwhelmed the army with the deepeſt ſorrow; and the conqueror of Italy, in his relation of it to the Directory, declared "that the republic had loſt one of its moſt faithful citizens and braveſt generals, and every ſoldier a comrade, who was as bold in the action as he was in diſcipline ſevere."

Notwithſtanding the meaſures of precaution taken by the ariſtocracies of Switzerland, or rather in conſequence of thoſe meaſures, the ſpirit of political diſcontent increaſed to general and rooted diſaffection throughout all the Proteſtant branches of the confederacy. For it is remarkable that, in the Catholic democracies

of the union, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Zug, the ſpirit of religious bigotry, diligently and continually foſtered by the prieſts, completely predominated at this criſis over that of civil liberty; and the French were, by the ignorant peaſantry of theſe petty ſtates, regarded with deteſtation, as heretics, infidels, and atheiſts:—and in the full enjoyment of liberty themſelves, they did not ſeem to entertain a wiſh that it ſhould, or an idea that it ought, to be extended beyond their own narrow and contracted limits.

Upon the declaration of war between Auſtria and France, this difference of ſentiment ſtrikingly appeared—the Proteſtant free and democratic cantons ſhewing a marked predilection for the intereſts of the Gallic republic, while the Catholics evinced the utmoſt averſion to the new order of things in France, and even permitted the officers of Auſtria publicly to raiſe recruits in their towns and villages. The government of Berne, animated by the ſame ſpirit upon this grand topic of controverſy, countenanced and encouraged the obnoxious proceedings of the Catholic cantons, and excited incurable jealouſy on the part of France, by marching, at the period of the duke of Brunſwic's invaſion, a formidable military force to the French frontier.

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The neighbouring republic of the Griſons alſo, though Proteſtant and democratic, ſhewed themſelves on various occaſions very inimical to the French. But of the political tranſactions of this rude and uncultivated people the detail would be tedious and uninſtructive. For ſeveral years the general ſtate of things altered little in Switzerland, only it was perceivable that the two oppoſing parties became more and more hoſtile, and the probability proportionally increaſed of ſome violent, bloody, and terrific cataſtrophe.

The fertile diſtrict of the Valteline, divided from the Helvetic territory by a high range of mountains, and properly a part of Lombardy, had been long ſubject to the tyranny of the Griſons. On the eſtabliſhment of the Cisalpine republic, in the ſummer of 1797, the inhabitants of this province, indignant at the oppreſſion they ſuffered, roſe with one accord, drove away the Griſon magiſtrates, and declared themſelves free and independent. Both parties appealed to the deciſion of the French government; and, the cauſe being referred to general Buonaparte, a day was appointed for the determination of it, when the Valteline deputies appeared in readineſs to ſuſtain their claims; but the Griſon government, for what reaſons cannot be aſcertained, omitted to ſupport their pretenſions in the ſame manner:—in conſequence of which general

neral Buonaparte declared in favor of the revolters, and they were immediately received into the union of the Cisalpine republic.

Towards the concluſion of the ſummer of 1797, the French government having now terminated the war on the continent, reſolved to avenge the inſults and injuries which they either had, or pretended to have, received from the Swiſs republic; and in order to afford a ſure pretext for bringing matters to extremity, the following demands were made upon the confederacy by the French Directory. 1. The free navigation of the Lake of Lugano for their ally the Cisalpine republic. 2. A paſſage for 25,000 men through the Vallais, for general Buonaparte's army. 3. The diſmiſſion of Mr. Wickham, the Engliſh envoy at Berne, from the Helvetic territory—he having been, as was alleged, deeply engaged in all the plots and intrigues which, as they alleged, had been perpetually carrying on againſt them in Switzerland. 4. The redreſs of certain ſpecific meaſures inimical to the French republic; chiefly thoſe of the government of Berne; which, as the Directory affirmed, had publicly enrolled emigrants, and given ſhelter to French requiſitionaries and deſerters.

On the firſt notice of this hoſtile memorial, the court of London ordered the envoy Wickham to quit the territories of the republic, not chooſing

chooſing to hazard a formal diſmiſſion. And an Helvetic Diet was ſummoned at Arau for the profeſſed purpoſe of compoſing the differences between the two countries. After paſſing a month in fruitleſs debate, this aſſembly at length decreed the levy of the double contingent, amounting to 26,000 men; but the inhabitants of the generality of the cantons ſhewed an inſuperable averſion to the ſervice; and while the levy proceeded ſlowly and heavily, the French appeared in force, under general Menard, on the Genevan frontier. The whole of the Pays-de-Vaud, a great part of Berne, and the entire canton of Baſle, were at once in a ſtate of inſurrection; and general Weiſs, who was entruſted by the governments of Berne and Friburg with the command of their army, was compelled to retreat with precipitation towards Berne; and general Menard, marching forward, proclaimed to the Vaudois—peace, liberty, and fraternity.

On the return of general Weiſs, a man of ſenſe and moderation, to Berne, he repreſented to the ſenate the utter impoſſibility of making any effectual reſiſtance againſt the arms of France, thus ſtrengthened and ſupported by the ſpirit of diſaffection. On the 13th of February, 1798, therefore, the Berneſe government came to a late and reluctant reſolution to ſend an embaſſy to the Directory, ſignifying "that they held

held it a ſacred duty to declare their earneſt wiſhes for peace with the French nation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the accuſtomed relations of amity and kindneſs; and that they will be ready to accommodate every point in diſpute, as far as it can be done without injury to the independence of a free people."

To this humiliating meſſage the Directory deigned not to return any anſwer; but, through the medium of citizen Mengaud, their envoy in Switzerland, ſpecified the conditions on which the former amity of the two nations might yet be reſtored:—1. That the canton of Berne ſhould diſmiſs its antient magiſtrates, and ſuppreſs its ſecret council and council of war. 2. Until a new form of government ſhall be organized, a proviſional one, founded on democratic principles, and excluding all the members of the antient government, ſhall be inſtituted. 3. The liberty of the preſs ſhall be immediately eſtabliſhed. 4. All perſons, Swiſs or others, proſecuted on account of their political opinions, or of their refuſal to march againſt the French, ſhall be indemnified.

On the receipt of this meſſage the government of Berne, ſenſible too late of the folly of its former policy, but gathering courage from deſpair, reſolved, after a violent ſtruggle in the ſenate between the ariſtocrates, headed by the advoyer

advoyer Steiguer and the general d'Erlach, and the moderates, ſupported by general Weiſs, to declare to M. Mengaud, "that they never would open negotiations upon ſuch demands as were contained in his meſſage, and that they were determined not to permit any foreign power to preſcribe a conſtitution to them." To enforce this reſolution, general Weiſs was ſuperſeded in his military command, which was conferred on his rival general d'Erlach. At this period general Brune arrived, and put himſelf at the head of the French army. Being in expectation of powerful reinforcements, he propoſed an armiſtice of eight days for the accommodation of differences; which was, without difficulty, acceded to on the part of the Berneſe, who deſired only that each canton ſhould remain free, to effect, according to its will, a change in its own government, without the interference of any foreign power.

In this interval the moderates, whoſe councils were over-ruled, having quitted their ſeats in the ſenate, the violent or jacobin party gained temporary aſcendency; and many of the ariſtocrates, from baſe and perſonal motives, terrified or bribed, joined in a formal abdication of their own power, and the appointment of a proviſional adminiſtration, of which the jacobins Tiller and Bay, with their aſſociates, were the principal

cipal members. The advoyer Steiguer would however take no part in this degrading transaction; but, with a heart bleeding for the fate of his country, reſigned, in mournful and indignant ſilence, the inſignia of his authority.

Previous to the expiration of the armiſtice, infractions of which were alleged on both ſides, general Brune attacked the town of Friburg, and, notwithſtanding a bloody reſiſtance, carried it by aſſault; and general Schawenburg, after defeating the troops of the canton, entered nearly at the ſame time the capital of Soleure. A ſummons was ſent to Berne itſelf to open its gates to the French army. Such were the internal diſtractions by which this unhappy city was agitated, and as it were torn aſunder, and ſuch the indignation excited by the inſolence of general Brune, who, in addition to his former demands, now required that Berne ſhould receive a French garriſon, that the propoſition of the new adminiſtrative government to capitulate to the enemy was rejected, and the people loudly called for arms. Orders were therefore iſſued, in a moment of deſperation rather than of courage, to general d'Erlach, to prepare for immediate hoſtilities. The Berneſe, to the number of 18,000, took the field; but the two armies under the generals, Brune and Schawenburg, having effected a junction, amounted

mounted to 50,000 men, followed by an immenſe train of artillery. Nevertheleſs the troops of the canton ſeemed reſolutely determined to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their country. The ſpirit of reſiſtance to the French was not now confined to thoſe who had ever been inveterate enemies to the revolution, but had diffuſed itſelf widely amongſt the moderates, the real patriots and genuine friends of their country.

During the armiſtice, the council of Berne, ſeeing the ſtorm of revolution gathering around them, had convoked the deputies of the communes to take part in their deliberations. The reſult of this laudable meaſure was a proclamation iſſued in their joint names, declaratory of their reſolution to make ſuch changes in the conſtitution of the government as the good of the country ſhould require. And more particularly, that, in the ſpace of a month, a commiſſion ſhould be eſtabliſhed to propoſe the plan of a more perfect conſtitution, of which the equal repreſentation of the people ſhould be the baſis: that all places in the adminiſtration and public employments in general ſhould be acceſſible to every citizen, according to their reſpective merits: and that a conſtitution on this plan ſhould be propoſed in the ſpace of twelve months for the approbation of the people; a proviſional

government

government being in the mean time appointed for the execution of the neceſſary functions of government. In Zurich alſo an actual amelioration of the government took place; and the regencies of the cantons of Lucerne, Schaffhauſen, Soleure, and Friburg, iſſued proclamations ſimilar to thoſe of Berne.

Had the French Directory therefore been actuated by laudable or really patriotic views, they would have teſtified their ſatisfaction with the conceſſions now made; they would have withdrawn their troops from the Swiſs territory; and have contented themſelves with acting in future, between the reſpective governments and the people at large, the noble and generous part of a common mediator and friend. But the general tenor of their conduct afforded no ground for any ſuch hopes. In the preſent exigency, the Berneſe, apparently abandoned by their confederates, whoſe contingents had been vainly demanded, were left almoſt entirely to their own unaſſiſted efforts: and the authority of government, amid the conflict of factions, being well-nigh annihilated, the real force of this ſingle but powerful canton was far from being fully exerted. General d'Erlach took a ſtrong poſition about three leagues from Berne, near the village of Frauenbrun, where, on the morning of the 5th of March, he was attacked with a force

a force more than double to that which he commanded, by the generals Brune and Schawenburg, throughout the whole extent of his line. The combat laſted ſeveral hours, and the Swiſs yielded not the field of battle till they had made and ſuffered a dreadful carnage. Slowly retreating from poſt to poſt, they relinquiſhed none without a new and deſperate conflict; but the heroic bravery of this unfortunate army was of no avail againſt the ſuperior force and irreſiſtible artillery of the French; and, after loſing half their numbers, the remainder were at length compelled, in the utmoſt confuſion, to ſeek for refuge in the mountains of Thun. The bridge over the river Aar leading to Berne being forced, the government capitulated, and the city was happily reſcued from the horrors of an aſſault.

Furious at their defeat, the Swiſs ſoldiery turned their rage upon their own officers, whom they charged with involving them in this misfortune by their treachery or miſconduct; and ſeveral were ſacrificed to their blind and brutal rage. The general d'Erlach and the advoyer Steiguer, who had aſſumed the ſword on laying down the gown, left the army ſecretly: the latter, traverſing the lake of Thun and the mountains of Underwalden, reached the Auſtrian dominions in ſafety; but the former, having

been diſcovered in his flight, was ſeized on by the peaſants and ſavagely murdered. An opinion being very prevalent amongſt the inhabitants of the canton that theſe two perſons had contributed beyond all others to the calamities of their country, the violent death of the one was leſs lamented than the fortunate eſcape of the other.

The oligarchy of Berne was now annihilated, the Berneſe army was deſtroyed or diſperſed, and the French profeſſed to come in the character of protectors and deliverers; yet the public treaſury of Berne, the ſtores, the arſenal, the cannon, and all the property of the ſtate, was without ſcruple confiſcated to the uſe of "the great nation"—excluſive of the heavy contributions levied throughout almoſt the whole extent of Switzerland.

After a ſhort interval, a general convention was ſummoned to meet at Arau, in order to form a republican conſtitution for, or rather to force a conſtitution upon, the Thirteen Cantons, on the model of that of France, one and indivi ſible. But here a new ſpirit of oppoſition and reſiſtance diſplayed itſelf. While the inhabitants of the great ariſtocratical cantons, Catholic and Proteſtant, acceded with little difficulty to this propoſition, deputies from the ſmall democratic cantons of Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and

and Appenzel, which were paſſionately attached to their exiſting forms of government, aſſembling at Brennen, ſent a declaration of their ſentiments to general Brune, ſtating, "that the conſtitution of their government had been for many ages a democracy, founded upon the ſovereignty of the people and the rights of man; that they poſſeſſed nothing but their religion, their liberty, and their flocks, which they hoped the French nation would permit them to enjoy in peace; engaging on their ſide never to take up arms againſt it."

A mild anſwer was returned by general Brune, aſſuring them of the continuance of the friendſhip of the French, and requeſting, rather than demanding, their aſſent to the new conſtitution. This occaſioned a ſecond meeting of the congreſs at Brennen, in which it was finally determined that their preſent government ſhould be defended againſt whatever attack ſhould be made upon it. Unlike the feveriſh and tranſitory reſolutions of the ariſtocracy of Berne in its expiring agonies, this was the firm, ſteady, and unanimous determination of a people devoted to the cauſe of democratic freedom—productive, beyond all other cauſes, of great and wonderful effects.

General Schawenburg, who ſucceeded general Brune at this period in the chief command,

now, therefore, led his troops (April 1798) to this odious conteſt, againſt the combined army of the democratic cantons, which was compoſed of the hardy deſcendants of thoſe brave patriots who had in antient times reſiſted, with ſuch glorious ſucceſs, the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria. Taking a very ſtrong poſition amid their native mountains near the lake of Zug, under the command of general Paravicini, a man not deſtitute of experience or talents, they awaited without fear the attack of the French, who were much ſuperior to them in numbers. After engaging with great fury and equal advantage for ſome time, Paravicini ordered a feigned retreat, and drew the French with great ſkill into an ambuſh which he had dextrouſly planted behind a moraſs; and being thus unexpectedly taken both in flank and rear, they made a precipitate rereat, with the loſs of ſeveral thouſand men.

In the other engagements which took place in this rough and rugged country, the French could obtain no laurels; and being perhaps a little reluctant to purſue to extremity a war of this nature, a negotiation was ſet on foot, in which the united cantons obtained the following very honorable terms:—1ſt. That no French troops ſhould enter their territory. 2d. That no contributions ſhould be levied upon them. 3d. That,

That, in accepting the new conſtitution, they would reſerve to themſelves the arrangement of their interior adminiſtration.

It is nevertheleſs grievous to relate, that Underwalden obſtinately refuſing to ratify this agreement, rejecting peremptorily the amicable overtures repeatedly made,—and as if they felt themſelves contaminated by the correſpondence, at length returning the letters ſent them without breaking the ſeal,—the French at the latter end of the ſummer marched a ſecond army into that canton: and the men of Underwalden aſſembling their entire force, aided by divers corps of volunteers from the neighbouring diſtricts, one unconquerable ſpirit animating the whole, a moſt memorable battle was fought, on the 8th and 9th of September, on the ſhores of the lake of Lucerne, near the town of Standtz, in which prodigies of valor were performed by theſe genuine ſons of freedom. On the firſt of theſe days no impreſſion could be made by the French; and upon the ſecond the battle was renewed with redoubled fury. On one ſide were ſkill, diſcipline, and far ſuperior numbers; upon the other, the enthuſiaſm of religion, and the inextinguiſhable ardor of patriotiſm. In courage, neither could boaſt the ſuperiority—every individual was an hero. For a time the bayonet of the ſoldier ſeemed a feeble weapon

compared with the maſſy club of the mountaineer; and the artillery of the French was almoſt ſilenced by the vaſt fragments of rock rolled down from the apparently inacceſſible heights above them. Women and children ruſhed undaunted upon the invaders. No advance was made but over the bodies of the ſlain; and the day cloſed before the battle was decided. At length, deſtroyed rather than defeated, the ſhattered remains of the Swiſs army, under covert of the increaſing darkneſs, took refuge in the town of Standtz, which was carried by ſtorm, and in a moment converted into a ſcene of carnage and deſolation. The beautiful valley of Standtz, ſeated at the baſe of lofty mountains on whoſe ſummits winter holds eternal reign, was laid entirely waſte, the houſes of the inhabitants burnt, the churches demoliſhed, and all who were found in arms exterminated without mercy.

The monſtrous contraſt between the principles and practices of the French appears in no inſtance perhaps ſo ſtriking as in this, where, with the name of freedom on their lips, they imbrued their ſacrilegious hands in the blood of thoſe who had for ages inhabited theſe hallowed and ſequeſtered haunts, where LIBERTY, baniſhed from kingdoms and empires, had been received with ruſtic and paſtoral honors, thence-

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forth making this ſimple but ſublime temple of Nature her choſen and favorite abode.

To purſue the progreſs of French rapacity and tyranny, as exerciſed by the profligate inſtruments of the French directors, Mengaud and Rapinat, would be foreign to the purpoſe of this hiſtory: it muſt ſuffice to mention, that the new conſtitution, upon the French model, was at length adopted by all the Helvetic States—Lucerne being fixed upon as the ſeat of government; and that a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, was ſubſequently concluded between the Gallic and Helvetic republics, nominally at leaſt, on terms of equality and reciprocal advantage.

It is proper to add, that, in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, the city of Geneva, which had been within the ſpace of a few years the ſcene of a ſucceſſion of revolutions, was at length united, probably for ever, to the French republic—being formed into the capital of a department, under the name of the department of the Lake of Leman.

Notwithſtanding the deſpotic authority exerciſed by the directors ſince the revolution of Fructidor, the election of the new third in the legiſlative aſſembly, during the ſpring of the preſent year, was very oppoſite to their views and wiſhes. They ſent, in conſequence, a meſ-

ſage to the Council of Five Hundred, complaining of the exiſtence of an anarchical conſpiracy to make the primary and elective aſſemblies the nurſeries of future plots, and expreſſing their hopes that the council would not permit men loaded with every crime to ſit in the legiſlature.

An obſequious committee was immediately appointed to make a report upon this meſſage, which was brought up on the 7th of May. It ſtated the neceſſity of excluding from the legiſlature the partizans of the two great factions which agitated the republic—the anarchiſts, and the royaliſts. And a decree was forthwith framed, annulling the elections of ſeveral departments *in toto*, beſides thoſe of very many individuals. The control of the preſs was alſo, with equal ſervility, continued for another year.

About the ſame period the negotiator Treilhard was choſen to ſucceed Francis de Neufchâteau, who was the director deſtined to vacate his lot.

The war department had been filled with equal incapacity and profligacy, ſince the 18th of Fructidor, by general Scherer, a near relation of the director Rewbel; and every other department in the ſtate exhibited a ſimilar portrait of inability and rapacity:—ſo that the directorial government became both odious and contemptible

temptible to all deſcriptions of perſons throughout the nation; and the more the Directory multiplied their tyrannical precautions, the more they enhanced the number of their enemies, and the imminence of their danger.

Holland, which, by a wiſe and ſingular policy adopted at the period of the conqueſt of that country by France, and ſince not materially violated, had been left in a very great meaſure to take care of its own concerns, now became the ſcene of ſome revolutionary movements. "No proſcription, no popular crime, had ſtained the tranquil ſubverſion of its antient government. It had only to bear the reſidence and maintenance of 24,000 Frenchmen, whoſe number was never effective, and whoſe conduct in general did not excite complaints *." A ſuſpicion had been, however, for ſome time entertained in both countries that the zeal diſplayed by ſome members of the Batavian convention for the antient modes of federative organization aroſe from a ſecret predilection to the ſtadtholderian government; and the naval defeat of Camperdown was aſcribed by many to the treaſonable diſaffection of ſome perſons high in ſtation and influence. At the latter end of

* This is the remarkable and candid teſtimony of a moſt determined anti-revolutioniſt, M. Mallet du Pan. —— Vide "Britiſh Mercury, September 1799."

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the year 1797, citizen Charles de la Croix was nominated ambaſſador to the republic of Holland, with a view to effect a revolutionary change which had been previouſly concerted with the Dutch general Daendals.

On the 22d of January, 1798, troops were poſted at the entrance of the hall of aſſembly, the commanding officer of which arreſted ſuch of the deputies as were on the proſcribed liſt, to the number of twenty-one, together with the ſix members of the commiſſion for foreign affairs. The aſſembly, thus purged, aſſumed the appellation of "The Conſtituent Aſſembly of the Batavian People," and elected a proviſional Executive Directory. A general oath was impoſed of unalterable hatred to ſtadtholderianiſm, ariſtocracy, federaliſm, and anarchy: and Holland ſeemed ſunk into the ſtate of a province abjectly dependent upon the will of De la Croix, the confidential agent of the French Directory. A conſtitution formed on the baſis of the French was ſoon prepared, and with no difficulty accepted by the Dutch nation: but the Conventional Aſſembly, on the 5th of May, thought proper to declare, "that although they were virtually diſſolved by the acceptance of the conſtitution, yet the dangers which ſtill threatened the country had determined the members to agree that no renewal ſhould take place that year,

year, but that the preſent deputies ſhould form themſelves into a legiſlative body, and continue their functions together with the preſent Directory."

This act of deſpotiſm rouzed the phlegm of the Batavians into a very active and, probably, unexpected reſiſtance. General Daendals, who had promoted the excluſion of the obnoxious members in January, now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the decided part which he took in oppoſition to the preſent meaſure, which was ſupported by the whole influence of the French ambaſſador and agent, Charles de la Croix.

The Dutch Directory having iſſued orders for the arreſt of the general, that officer made his eſcape, and, repairing to Paris, made ſo good a defence of his conduct to the French Directory, that he was enabled, under the ſanction of their approbation, to return to Holland, where he was received with acclamations of applauſe. In a ſhort time a new ſcene of cabal and reſiſtance opened: The miniſters of the different ſtate departments uniting with Daendals, and erecting themſelves into a proviſionary executive power, ſummoned all the officers of the Dutch troops before them; who, entering entirely into their views, took the new oath of allegiance propoſed; and general Daendals, at the head of a ſtrong military force, loſt no time

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in ſurrounding both the Directory and the legiſlative body, as well as in ſecuring the perſon of the ambaſſador de la Croix. Two of the directors had given in their timely reſignation; two others effected their eſcape; Van Langen, the fifth, was put under arreſt: De la Croix received his diſmiſſion, and returned to Paris. The primary aſſemblies being convoked, elected apparently, without any reſtraint, the new legiſlative body, to whom the proviſional adminiſtration, on its meeting, ſurrendered their powers. In the month of Auguſt the Executive Directory were nominated, and the new directorial government completely organized; and all theſe events paſſed not only without any oppoſition from the French Directory, but with their evident implicit concurrence.

In the month of May, this year (1798), a futile and ill-concerted attempt was made by the Engliſh government to interrupt the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France, by deſtroying the baſin, gates, and ſluices, of the Bruges' Canal. The command of the expedition being entruſted to general Coote and commodore Popham, both officers of diſtinguiſhed merit. By five o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the troops were diſembarked with their artillery, miners, petards, &c. and ſoon after ten the works were blown up with a violent exploſion.

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But the ſurf now unfortunately run ſo high that it was impoſſible to re-imbark. As a *feint*, according to general Coote's official account, a peremptory ſummons was ſent to the governor of Oſtend to ſurrender that important place, but the anſwer received was, "that this would not be done till the garriſon were buried under the ruins." The Engliſh, to the number of 1,200 men, now endeavoured to entrench themſelves on the ſand-hills near the ſhore, where they were early the next morning attacked by a very ſuperior force, moving in different columns. After a ſhort but gallant conteſt, in which they were completely over-powered, their front being broken, and their flanks turned, general Coote himſelf being ſeverely wounded, they were compelled to ſurrender to the enemy, by whom both men and officers were treated with the greateſt attention and generoſity; and the damage done to the ſluices was in a few weeks perfectly repaired.

Towards the cloſe of the year, the iſland of Minorca was attacked apparently by ſurprize, and captured, after a reſiſtance ſo feeble as to occaſion a ſuſpicion of treachery, without the loſs of a man;—the garriſon, conſiſting of near 4,000 men, under a puſillanimous governor, Don Juan de Queſada, ſurrendering priſoners of war to the Britiſh commander, general Stuart.

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In the courſe of the year, the town of Port-au-Prince in St. Domingo, with the ſettlement of St. Marc and its dependencies, were evacuated by the Britiſh forces, and immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the French general Touiſſant de l'Ouverture, a native of the iſland, and one of the gens-de-couleur—a man of great talents and humanity, who, by acquiring the confidence of the inhabitants, had, in a very great degree, ſucceeded in reſtoring order and harmony in that long-diſtracted country. And thus ended thoſe dreams of conqueſt which had led to ſuch fatally diſaſtrous and impracticable attempts!—The dependence of general Touiſſant upon the French directorial government was manifeſtly little more than nominal; and it yet remains a problem, whether France will ever recover her former civil and political authority over this great and proſperous colony.

The interior tranquillity of Great Britain was this year (1798) undiſturbed by any memorable incident; and the public attention was wholly engroſſed by reviews, encampments, and military evolutions and manœuvres—almoſt every man being now a ſoldier, and enrolled in the national conſcription.

On the 9th of May his majeſty, calling in council for the council-book, was pleaſed to ſtrike out the name of Mr. Fox from the liſt of privy

privy counſellors;—poſterity will decide how wiſely and how well. It has been the juſt boaſt of Mr. Fox, that never, in conſequence of his counſels, has an extra guinea been expended, or a ſingle life been ſacrificed. By the counſels of others, whoſe names are ſtill inſcribed in the fatal roll, has the preſent reign been rendered an almoſt perpetual ſpectacle of blood and horror, of corruption, extortion, diſgrace, and calamity.

In conſequence of the numerous proſecutions inſtituted ſince the proclamation of 1792, at the ſuit of the crown, for real or pretended libels againſt the government, the liberty of the preſs was virtually annihilated, and ſcarcely would any author write, or any printer publiſh, any tract in oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration. In the ſpring of this year, the biſhop of Landaff, once the eloquent and accompliſhed advocate of liberty, having publiſhed a *candid* and courtly pamphlet, tending very artfully to reconcile the minds of men to the exiſting ſyſtem and all its concomitant abominations, a moſt ſpirited anſwer to it immediately appeared from the pen of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, a name known in the firſt ranks of literature, and honored for his extraordinary attainments in claſſical erudition, by the learned in every country throughout Europe. In ſpeaking

ing of the war tax, ſtyled "the Triple Aſſeſſment," which graſped at the tenth of every man's income, and of which the biſhop of Landaff had expreſſed his entire approbation, as a juſt and wiſe meaſure of finance, this ſpirited and patriotic writer indignantly ſays—"This meaſure was not adopted by Mr. Pitt either for its wiſdom or its juſtice, but becauſe the funding ſyſtem can be purſued no longer.—In truth, miniſters begin to feel that our expenditure is that millſtone which will infallibly ſink them and their ſyſtem together in perdition; and it is very doubtful whether their profligacy and inſanity have left political ſalvation practicable to all the united wiſdom and virtue of the country."—The power of the miniſters he juſtly ſtates to be irreſiſtible, notwithſtanding the palpable inability, and the acknowledged inefficiency, of their meaſures:—"For I almoſt queſtion (thus he boldly expreſſes himſelf) whether a dozen men at all diſtinguiſhed for intellect, and virtue, and political diſquiſition, who are at this hour the advocates of the preſent miniſtry, can be found in Britain, 'from old Belerium to the northern main,' not connected in fact or expectancy, by themſelves or their relatives, with ſome who depend on the emoluments of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem." He goes on to give his opinion, "that could the French make an effective

fective landing in England, the kingdom would be loſt for ever. The ſame cauſe which has facilitated the progreſs of the republicans on the continent would operate as powerfully for them in this country alſo—namely, a degree of poverty and wretchedneſs in the lower orders of the community, which, eſpecially in their preſent ſtate of depravity and ignorance, will render the chances, even from confuſion, of any change deſirable.—My life and my books (ſays this philoſophical politician) are all the perſonalities that I value, and neither of them, for I have not taſted *lotus*, ſhall be hazarded in defence of the preſent adminiſtration. If the French come, they ſhall find me at my poſt, a watchful centinel in my proper box—my ſtudy, among the venerable dead; ſometimes inveſtigating the origin of man and primæval hiſtory, by turning the dark lanthorn of heathen records, or trimming the everlaſting lamp of Moſes; ſometimes muſing with the divine profeſſors of the tuneful art on ſubjects of taſte and fancy; and ſometimes meditating with the men of Galilee on mortality and immortality. No ſyſtems of the many made for one, no zeal in ſupport of frontleſs corruption and every evil work ſhall dip my hands in the blood of men!

Non res Romanæ, perituraque regna—

Let thoſe who have brought us to this moſt alarming criſis ſtep forward in the day of danger, and fight the battles of their Baal and their Mammon."—Three of the publiſhers of this pamphlet, Jordan, Cuthell, and Johnſon, were immediately proſecuted by the attorney-general for this offence, and, being convicted, were ſentenced to different degrees of puniſhment. And, in the ſequel, the learned and eminent author himſelf underwent the ſame fate; being condemned to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and to ſuffer two years' impriſonment. In order, no doubt, to hide this tranſaction from the gariſh eye of day, he was, after a ſhort interval, removed from the King's Bench to the common goal of Dorcheſter *.

The war between France and Auſtria being now to appearance terminated, and the invaſion of England given up as an hopeleſs and impracticable attempt, it was become a queſtion of great importance, and of no little embarraſſment,

* How pleaſing muſt be the reflections of the biſhop of Landaff on recollecting the complete victory which, by the aſſiſtance of his new friends, the preſent miniſters, he has been able to obtain over all his enemies—Wakefield, Williams, Jordan, Johnſon, Cuthell, and Flower! How convincing are the arguments of fine and impriſonment! How ſatisfactory the refutation of a verdict of conviction! Certainly the learned prelate may plume himſelf henceforth upon being an unanſwerable writer.

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what ſhould be done with the immenſe armies actually on foot? Of the generals employed by the Directory, Buonaparte had been the moſt uniformly ſucceſsful, poſſeſſed the moſt commanding talents, and incomparably the largeſt ſhare of popularity. His ardent and active genius, not ſatisfied with the glory already acquired, and the victories already won, graſped at ſomething yet greater and higher: and the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt ſtruck his mind as an enterprize which would raiſe his name to a level with thoſe of the proudeſt conquerors in ancient or modern times. The firſt ſtep towards the accompliſhment of this vaſt and romantic project was the invaſion and occupation of Egypt, which he figured to himſelf as an eaſy taſk. Thence, before England could be apprized of his purpoſe, he conceived that veſſels might be procured to tranſport the greater part of his army, from ſome of the ports on the Red Sea, acroſs the Arabian Gulf to the weſtern coaſt of Hindoſtan, where the ſultan of Myſore, Tippoo Saib, the powerful ally of France, was ready to join him with all his forces. The Directory, jealous probably of the great political and military influence of Buonaparte, gave all poſſible encouragement to this deſign, which at once freed them from a

dangerous rival, and promiſed to add new laurels to the national wreath of victory.

The project in contemplation was obſcurely intimated to the Council of Five Hundred, in a report made by Eſchaſſereaux (April 1798) on the ſubject of colonization, wherein he ſtates "the advantages which would reſult from the regeneration of a country which was the firſt theatre of civilization in the univerſe." The immenſe preparations which had been for ſome months going on, chiefly in the port of Toulon, denoted an enterprize of no ordinary magnitude, and of a nature very uncommon. A number of learned and ſcientific men were ſelected to accompany this expedition; and with the uſual ſtores of carnage and deſolation were ſtowed inſtruments of knowledge in all its departments practical and philoſophical. Curioſity waſted itſelf in conjecture; for though Egypt had been publicly pointed out as the place of deſtination, many refined ſo far as to imagine that upon this very account it could not be the real object in view.

At length, every thing being in perfect readineſs, general Buonaparte ſailed from Toulon (May 20) with fifteen ſail of the line and frigates, under the conduct of a very able naval officer, admiral Brueys, accompanied by more than

than 200 transports. On the 9th of June this great armament preſented itſelf before the important fortreſs of Malta, and made a general landing of troops and artillery upon the iſland, with ſcarcely a ſhew of reſiſtance. No ſooner had the cannonade commenced, than the grand maſter demanded a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and the town and fortreſs of Valetta, with the whole iſland, was ignominiouſly ſurrendered on certain ſpecified conditions—the principal of which was, that the grand maſter ſhould receive for life an annual penſion of 300,000 livres. Thus eaſily did the French acquire one of the fineſt and moſt commodious harbours in the Mediterranean, defended by ſtrong and almoſt impregnable works, and which had for ages paſt been regarded as one of the bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the inroads of Ottoman power.

After leaving a garriſon of 4,000 men in Malta, the French armament, now increaſed by ſixty tranſports from Civita-Vecchia, and having on board not leſs than 40,000 troops, chiefly of the veteran armies of Italy, kept their courſe to the north-eaſt, ſailing by the iſland of Candia. The Engliſh fleet, which was of equal or ſuperior force, under the command of admiral Nelſon, who had already highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his naval proweſs, after ſeeking the French in vain off Toulon, arrived at Malta two

days after their departure from that place. He then directed his courſe towards Alexandria; but not finding the enemy there he ſtood on to Cyprus. Scarcely was the Engliſh fleet out of ſight, when the French appeared in view; and on the 1ſt of July the French admiral caſt anchor on the Egyptian coaſt; and general Buonaparte immediately landed his troops, although the weather was rough, and the ſea ran high and boiſterous. On the 5th he marched forward to the city of Alexandria, which he took by aſſault, and, in order to ſtrike terror and preclude future reſiſtance, with a great ſlaughter of the Arabs and Mamelouks who defended it. The appearance of this celebrated city fell prodigiouſly ſhort of the romantic ideas formed by the ſanguine imaginations of the French. Of the antient Alexandria, renowned for its commerce, its induſtry, its population, and magnificence, no traces were left but ſome ſcattered and broken monuments—ſuch as the remains of columns of granite, marble, and porphyry, inſcribed with hieroglyphics nearly defaced; baſes, ſhafts, and capitals, lying in melancholy diſorder; the ruins of ſeveral baths and catacombs, with the mouldering fragments of temples—the pillar of Pompey, and the baths of Cleopatra, alone remaining in tolerable preſervation. The modern city preſented only a wretched

wretched and confuſed heap of huts rather than houſes; the ſtreets narrow, noiſome through filth; and the inhabitants ſtupid, ignorant, barbarous, and hoſtile.

The addreſs of general Buonaparte to his army, on their landing, was admirably adapted to the purpoſe of this eaſtern invader. "The people (ſaid he) with whom you are now going to eſtabliſh an intercourſe are Mahometans. The firſt article of their faith is, 'There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.' Do not contradict them. Treat their muftis and imans with reſpect, as you have done the rabbis and biſhops.—The Roman legions protected all religions." In a proclamation addreſſed to the people of Egypt, after the taking of Alexandria, he thus adroitly practiſes on their credulity and their prejudices:—"You will be told that I come to deſtroy your religion. Do not believe it. Reply, that I am come to reſtore your rights, to puniſh uſurpers, and that I reverence, more than the Mamelouks themſelves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran.—If Egypt is their farm, let them ſhew the leaſe that God has given them of it.—There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has deſtroyed them all? What but the injuſtice and tyranny

of the Mamelouks?"—In this modern cruſade liberty ſerved as a pretext no leſs commodious to the purpoſes of ambition, than in the antient that of religion.

From Alexandria the route of the army lay acroſs the deſert to the Nile. Two leagues below Cairo that immenſe ſtream divides itſelf into two branches, one of which, running weſterly, falls into the ſea at Roſetta, and the other to the eaſtward at Damietta. The intermediate country is called the Delta, and is extremely fertile. Along the outer ſides of the two branches runs a narrow ſlip of cultivated land, beyond which are the Deſerts, extending on the left to Libya, on the right to the Red Sea. The march of the army to Roſetta completely diſpelled what yet remained of the fond and flattering ideas which the French had indulged reſpecting Egypt. They trod for more than forty miles over a burning ſand, utterly deſtitute of verdure, of water, and refreſhments—fainting with heat, with thirſt, and fatigue. Their arrival at Roſetta opened to them, however, a ſcene of comparative delight. This city, much ſuperior to Alexandria, ſituated on the banks of the Nile, ſix miles only from the ſea, is ſurrounded by a green and fertile country, abounding with palm, citron, pomegranate, and orange-trees, with other productions of

of the warmer climates—exhibiting a raviſhing ſpectacle to thoſe who had juſt been traverſing the fiery and deſolate wilderneſs.

Leaving a garriſon at Roſetta, the army continued their march along the banks of the Nile to the city of Grand Cairo, accompanied by a flotilla, which carried the ammunition and proviſions. They were, nevertheleſs, under the neceſſity of proceeding with caution on account of the frequent and deſultory attacks of the Arabs. On the arrival of general Buonaparte near Giſeh, three leagues from Cairo, he found Murad Bey, one of the chiefs of the Mamelouks, who had aſſembled his whole force to oppoſe the farther progreſs of the French army, which was flanked on the right by the celebrated pyramids, on the left by the Nile. The charge of the Mamelouks, who were all mounted on ſwift and managed horſes, and who were equally dextrous in throwing the lance or wielding the ſabre, was beyond expreſſion furious: but being wholly devoid of military ſkill and diſcipline they were repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter. Having abandoned the field in confuſion, the camp of the aſſailants, and 400 camels laden with baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the ſhattered remains of the Mamelouk army retreated under the conduct of Murad Bey into Upper Egypt. After this encounter, which received

ceived the appellation of the Battle of the Pyramids, general Buonaparte entered (July 22) Grand Cairo in triumph;—preſiding in perſon ſoon after this event at the annual ceremony which takes place on the overflowing of the Nile; and employing himſelf with great aſſiduity in the arrangements neceſſary for the interior adminiſtration of the Lower Egypt, now completely in his poſſeſſion.

But notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the French, they were haraſſed with inceſſant fatigue, and irritated by perpetual diſappointment. "Egypt," ſaid M. Lacuée, an officer of rank in the French army, in a letter addreſſed to a friend and relation in France, "bears not the ſlighteſt reſemblance to what has been ſaid of it by our writers. The natives, degraded by ſlavery, are relapſed into the ſavage ſtate—retaining nothing of their former civilization, but ſuperſtition and intolerance. In a word, this country is nothing at preſent. It merely offers magnificent recollections of the paſt, and vaſt but diſtant hopes of the future*." The army now began anxiouſly to ſpeculate upon their expedition to India: "We do not know," ſays another French officer, in an intercepted letter, "whether we ſhall ſtay in theſe new regions, or carry our con-

* Intercepted Correſpondence.

queſts

queſts farther;—the army, though victorious, will terminate its career, by periſhing miſerably, if our government perſiſts in its ambitious projects*." But the general himſelf, as it appears, had by this time totally relinquiſhed his India chimæras, and cheriſhed the idea of ſpeedily returning to France; leaving the future and difficult taſk of maintaining the conqueſts he had made to others. "The conqueſt of Egypt," ſays the general, in a letter to his brother Joſeph Buonaparte, dated July 28, "has been ſufficiently diſputed to add another leaf to the military glory of this army. Egypt is the richeſt country in the world, in wheat, rice, pulſe, and cattle; but barbariſm is here at its height. I think of being in France in two months. Take your meaſures ſo that I may have a country-ſeat at my arrival, either in the neighbourhood of Paris, or in Burgundy. I reckon on paſſing the winter there†.

It was probably impracticable, had the French general been diſpoſed to perſevere in his original project, to collect a ſufficient number of veſſels on the Red Sea, adapted to the purpoſe of tranſporting his army, and its appendages, to Hindoſtan. And an obſtacle no leſs unexpected than formidable aroſe to the execution of

* Intercepted Correſpondence. † Ditto.

this

this deſign, in conſequence of the Engliſh admiral Rainier, who commanded a ſmall ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, having taken poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Perim, ſituated between the two points, forming the Straits of Babel-mandel, which conſtitutes the ſole communication between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Cambaya. But an event of vaſt magnitude and importance, totally unforeſeen, and moſt diſaſtrous in its conſequences to France, occurred at this period, which completely diſconcerted the deſigns of the French government, and gave a new aſpect to the affairs of Europe.

The French admiral, Brueys, after diſembarking, with the happieſt fortune, the French troops under his convoy, arrived in the Bay of Aboukir on the 7th of July, forming a line of battle, with the headmoſt ſhip as cloſe as poſſible to a ſhoal, to the north-weſt, and the reſt of the fleet deſcribing a curve along the line of deep water, flanked by numerous gun-boats, and a battery of ſhells and mortars, on an iſland in the van. In this poſition admiral Brueys remained till the 31ſt of July—confident, no doubt, in his own ſtrength, as he had time more than ſufficient to have taken refuge either in Corfu or Malta.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt the Engliſh fleet came in ſight, and, upon a near approach, admiral Nelſon

Nelſon determined upon attempting a dangerous manœuvre, which, if ſucceſsful, muſt be deciſive, and which could be prompted only by that high and heroic ſpecies of courage which borders upon the limits of a noble temerity. Having made himſelf acquainted, by repeated trials, of the depth of water near the ſhoal, the ſignal was daringly made, and as daringly executed, to turn the head of the French line; by which means the whole of the enemy's van was attacked on both ſides, before any other of the French ſhips (rendered uſeleſs by being at anchor) could move to their aſſiſtance. The action commenced a little before ſun-ſet, and, ſituated as the two fleets now were, victory ſoon declared itſelf in favor of England. The French however continued fighting with the rage of deſperation. Before eight the fleets were engaged throughout the whole extent of the line —the cannonading on both ſides was inceſſant and tremendous. The French admiral's ſhip having taken fire, the whole horizon ſeemed in flames. Admiral Brueys himſelf was killed by a cannon-ball; and admiral Gantheaume, ſecond in command, finding it impoſſible to ſtop the progreſs of the conflagration, quitted the veſſel with difficulty, accompanied by a ſmall part of the crew, and about half paſt nine ſhe blew up, with an exploſion which was plainly heard at Roſetta,

Roſetta, ten miles diſtant. A ſudden and horrific pauſe enſued, expreſſive of the feelings excited by this moſt melancholy, yet beyond conception magnificent, ſpectacle. The battle was then renewed with tenfold fury, and proſecuted with ſhort intervals till day-break, by which time almoſt all the French ſhips had ſtruck their colours, after loſing moſt of their officers and vaſt numbers of their men—the veſſels themſelves being nearly diſmaſted, and lying mere wrecks upon the water. Two line-of-battle ſhips, and two frigates, only eſcaped from the general deſtruction of this dreadful battle, which will ever rank in celebrity with the moſt famous naval engagements ever fought in any age of the world, or by any nations of antient or modern times. The perſevering valor of the vanquiſhed, which laſted long after all hopes of ſucceſs on their part had ceaſed, was truly aſtoniſhing, and cauſed the victory of the Engliſh to be dearly purchaſed with the lives of nine hundred brave ſailors; but the loſs of the enemy was incalculable. Admiral Nelſon himſelf received a dangerous wound in the head on this occaſion, which diſabled him from the command during the latter part of the action; but his firſt captain, Berry, gave full proof that he was actuated by the ſame ardent zeal and heroic ſpirit. The Engliſh admiral, after leaving a ſquadron to block

block up the ports of Alexandria and Roſetta, ſailed, with ſuch of his prizes as he could bring away, for Europe, in order to refit.

The intelligence of this aſtoniſhing diſaſter threw the whole French army, excepting the general himſelf, into conſternation. His diſpatches upon this occaſion to the Directory diſcover the moſt admirable firmneſs and fortitude. He congratulates them on the previous landing of the troops; and will not for a moment admit the deſponding idea, that the object of the expedition is fruſtrated. To England, he affirms, is decreed the empire of the ſeas,—to France that of the land. "This diſaſter," ſays the French officer before cited—M. Lacuée, "would deprive the army of every hope, if they were not acquainted with the genius of the commander-in-chief."

It appears probable that the French government had flattered itſelf with the idea that the Sublime Porte, ſenſible of the extreme importance of keeping up an amicable connection with France, as well as of the inſignificance of that ſhadow of authority which ſhe retained in Egypt, would have condeſcended to accept of the apologies made by the republic for the invaſion of that country, in which France profeſſed to oppoſe, not the power of the grand-ſeignor, but that of the Beys and Mamelouks.

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On the contrary, however, the intelligence of this invaſion was heard at Conſtantinople with the greateſt indignation; but fear kept that proud and barbarous court ſilent, till the tidings of the victory at Aboukir encouraged her to give vent to her impotent though paſſionate reſentment. On the 1ſt of September an imperial decree was publiſhed, declaring the depoſition of the grand-vizier (Mehemed Pacha), who, it is aſſerted, "had not obſerved the inſtructions given him, to attend to the defence of the Ottoman dominions; ſo that in the dark himſelf with reſpect to the evil deſigns of thoſe *brutiſh infidels* the French, he did not in good time apprize the inhabitants of Egypt thereof. When the unhappy tidings from thence came to our imperial ear," ſays this imperial decree, "a full month after that inſufferable event had come to paſs, ſuch were our grief and concern, that, we take God to witneſs! it drew tears from our eyes, and deprived us of ſleep and reſt. We have therefore immediately depoſed him from the office of grand-vizier, and have appointed in his place Youſſouf Pacha, governor of Erzerum. Now it being incumbent upon all true believers to combat thoſe faithleſs brutes the French, and it being become a poſitive duty for our imperial perſon to deliver the bleſſed territories from their accurſed hands,

and

and to revenge the infults which they have offered to muffulmans, no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the new vizier; but the moft vigorous meafures muft be purfued, to attack them by fea and land. Wherefore, by a deliberation with the illuftrious lawyers, miniſters, and chieftains, our fubjects, you muft, with a full confidence in God and his prophet, fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the prefence of fuch wretches. You will acquaint all the true believers, in the refpective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turning night into day, will apply your utmoft efforts to take revenge of them."

At the fame time, to teftify his high fenfe of the fervice recently performed by admiral Nelfon, the grand-feignor directed a fuperb diamond *chelengk*, or plume of triumph, to be taken from one of the imperial turbans, and fent to the admiral, together with a robe of honor of fable fur, befides a purfe of 2000 fequins to be diftributed among the wounded of his crew.

The blind and furious reſentment of the Ottoman Porte againſt France incited them to acts of the greateſt political folly. A Ruſſian fquadron of 12 fail of the line, under admiral Ouſchakoff, was permitted, for the firſt time, to fail through the Dardanelles, which, in conjunction

with their new allies the Turks, reduced the Venetian iſlands of Cerigo, the antient Cytherea, Zante, Cephalenia, and at length Corfu—the poſſeſſion of which important place ſecured to them a permanent eſtabliſhment in the Mediterranean.

Had the French, in planning their Egyptian expedition, really been actuated,—which no nation ever has, or ever will be,—by the ſole and beneficent motive of giving liberty to an oppreſſed people; and had the Egyptians been capable of comprehending the nature and value of the gift; it would undoubtedly have demanded and deſerved the applauſe and admiration of the univerſe. "The Turkiſh government," to adopt the impreſſive language of a celebrated writer, "is a tyranny under which the fineſt countries, in the moſt genial climate of the world, are waſted by peace more than any countries have been by war,—where arts are unknown, where manufactures languiſh, where ſcience is extinguiſhed, where agriculture decays, where the human race itſelf melts away, and periſhes under the eye of the obſerver*." It muſt nevertheleſs be allowed, that Buonaparte was no vulgar conqueror, and that he aſpired, in a country where, as he himſelf ex-

* "Reflections on the French Revolution."

preſſes

preſſes it, "barbariſm was at its height," to introduce the arts of civilization, the knowledge of juriſprudence, and the practice and love of induſtry.

The communication of Alexandria with Roſetta by ſea being cut off, the French general cauſed the canal which led from Rhamania to Alexandria, acroſs the Deſert, to be repaired and cleanſed. Left entirely to his own reſources, he ſeemed to continue with greater ardor and activity his civil and military operations. At Belbeis and Salhaic he conſtructed forts and redoubts to guard againſt the attacks of the Turks on the ſide of Syria; and drew plans for the better defence of Grand Cairo and Alexandria. He formed alſo a great eſtabliſhment for the different mechanical arts, in which he was aſſiſted by the artiſts and ſcientific men who had accompanied the expedition, and with the aid of whom he formed a national inſtitute. At his invitation the Schieks from different provinces aſſembled at Cairo, where Monge and Berthollet ſubmitted to their deliberations various queſtions of political œconomy, and regulations of adminiſtrative government. Every art of courteſy and of policy was put in practice to acquire the confidence of the natives, but with little apparent ſucceſs.

The French were ſtill regarded as intruders and uſurpers, and nothing could reconcile the minds of the Egyptians, blindly and obſtinately attached to the Mahometan ſuperſtition, to the government of ſtrangers and infidels.

This inward enmity broke out into a violent inſurrection in the city of Grand Cairo in the month of October, which the French, being attacked ſuddenly and unprepared, were obliged to exert themſelves vigorouſly to repel. Many Frenchmen were maſſacred at the commencement of the commotion, amongſt whom was general Dupuis, commandant of the garriſon; but the inſurgents were at length ſubdued with great loſs of blood; and the revolt ſerved but to increaſe and eſtabliſh the power of Buonaparte. It was remarked in this, as on other occaſions, that the Arabs, the Turks, and the Mamelouks, were far more active in their oppoſition to the French than the aboriginal inhabitants, who were too much accuſtomed to ſubjection to think of reſiſtance to any aſſumption of authority. The ſect of the Cophts, who were Chriſtians of the Greek communion, ſhewed themſelves, on the contrary, at all times, and particularly during the late attempt, ſtrongly attached to the invaders—cheriſhing, no doubt, a dawn of hope that the hour of their deliverance

deliverance from the Turkiſh bondage was at hand. But their numbers were comparatively ſmall, and their influence yet ſmaller.

By this time the army of Murad Bey was again defeated in Upper Egypt, near the pyramids of Saccara; and another body of Mamelouks, under Ibrahim Bey, on the ſide of Syria, was diſperſed by the forces which had been left on the coaſt under the command of general Kleber. The declaration of the grand-ſeignor having now arrived in Egypt, general Buonaparte ſet on foot very great military preparations, plainly indicating his purpoſe to make yet farther and mightier efforts for what, in the revolutionary language of France, was ſtyled the deliverance and regeneration of the Eaſtern world; and his intention of reviſiting France was for the preſent entirely ſuſpended.

Admiral Nelſon had been received, after returning from his Egyptian expedition, with the higheſt honors almoſt ever paid to any perſon. The victory he had gained excited a great ſenſation in Europe, from the frozen coaſts of the Baltic to the golden ſhores of Heſperia. On his appearance in the Bay of Naples, on the 22d of September, his Sicilian majeſty inſtantly went on board the admiral's ſhip, attended by a numerous train of barges and boats, with colours and muſic, the whole of that beautiful natural

amphitheatre being crowded with ſpectators. Alſo when the admiral returned the royal viſit, every mark of reſpect and attention was ſhewn to him, and a new confederacy againſt France began to be publicly and confidently talked of. "Fire but one gun," (ſaid the chevalier Acton, firſt miniſter to the king of Naples,) "and the congreſs of Raſtadt is diſſolved."

The honors and rewards allotted to admiral Nelſon in his native country were ſtill more flattering and ſubſtantial. In addition to the dignity before conferred upon him of Knight of the Bath, he was now created Baron Nelſon of the Nile, to which was annexed a perpetual annuity of 2,000*l.*; and he was authorized to bear for his armorial enſigns a palm-tree, and for his creſt, on a naval crown, the *chelingk* or plume of triumph. The victory was celebrated with great rejoicings all over the kingdom; and new hopes, not leſs chimerical and extravagant than the former, began to be entertained of humbling the pride of France. The unfortunate effect of this glorious victory was not to inſpire a diſpoſition to embrace the favorable moment to conclude an advantageous and honorable peace, but to raiſe the ſinking credit of a weak, baffled, and degraded adminiſtration, and to exalt a new, a ruinous, and ſenſeleſs war into unmerited popularity.

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The congreſs at Raſtadt, which had commenced its ſittings on the 1ſt of January (1798), ſeemed, in the courſe of almoſt a year, to have made very little progreſs. France adhered tenaciouſly to her project of making the Rhine the barrier of the republic. It was no ſecret that this propoſition had been aſſented to by the emperor in the ſeparate articles of the treaty of Campo Formio. The greater part of the Venetian territory, and the whole of Bavaria beyond the Inn, were made the rich reward of this compliance; and the Houſe of Auſtria, by a rare fortune, on the termination of a war to her almoſt uniformly unſucceſsful, would thus be left more powerful than at the commencement of it. The grand difficulty conſiſted in arranging that ſyſtem of ſecularization by which it was propoſed to compenſate the loſſes of thoſe whoſe dominions were to be ceded to France by the treaty of Raſtadt. But the Deputation of the empire reſiſted with the greateſt obſtinacy the ſacrifice required of them. They aſſerted that the integrality of the empire ought to be maintained, ſince it ſerved as the baſis of the preliminaries of Leoben; and that the acquiſition of the left ſide of the Rhine was not of ſuch importance to France as the violation of that integrality to the States of Germany: That the ceſſion in queſtion affected mediately or imme-

diately the intereſts of no leſs than thirty-one ſecular and thirteen eccleſiaſtical ſtates; and that no means ought to be left unſought for preventing ſo vaſt an alienation.

The French plenipotentiaries, Treilhard and Bonnier, ſtill however inſiſting on the firſt demand, and being powerfully ſeconded by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the deputation on the 12th of March moſt reluctantly conſented to this immenſe ſacrifice. The plenipotentiaries then went into the queſtion of indemnity, which was agreed to be ſettled on the principle of ſecularizing the poſſeſſions of the eccleſiaſtical princes. After much time fruitleſsly ſpent in diſcuſſing this endleſs topic of diſputation, the French were deſired to ſtate their ulterior demands. This was done on the 13th of May, by a note, containing the following requiſitions: 1ſt, The navigation of the Rhine to be common to both nations, ſuppreſſing the right of tolls altogether. 2dly, To leave all the iſlands of the Rhine in poſſeſſion of the republic. 3dly, To retain poſſeſſion of the fort of Kehl, and the territory contiguous on the German ſide of the Rhine; likewiſe of the ſuburb of Caſſel, oppoſite to the city of Mentz. 4thly, To demoliſh the fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein, now cloſely blockaded by the French.

Theſe extortionate demands gave great and juſt

juſt offence, not only to the Deputation, but alſo to the courts of Vienna and Berlin: and the conqueror of Italy, having now departed on his romantic expedition, the language of the Deputation, ſecretly encouraged, no doubt, by the emperor, began to aſſume a firmer tone. The ambaſſadors of Auſtria and Pruſſia remonſtrated in formal and official memorials againſt theſe conditions, as ignominious to the empire, and fatal no leſs to her ſafety than her honor. Ehrenbreitſtein, Kehl, and Caſſel, were the bulwarks of the empire on the ſide of France; and to require the ceſſion or the demolition of theſe antient fortreſſes, was in effect to claim a free entrance into the heart of Germany whenever it ſuited the ſelfiſh or ambitious purpoſes of France.

After new and lengthened diſcuſſion, the Deputation conſented to the demolition of Ehrenbreitſtein; and the French agreed to a diviſion of the iſlands in the river, and to relinquiſh the territory adjoining to Kehl; but neither would the Deputation or the Imperial miniſter accede to the ceſſion of that fortreſs or of Caſſel. After ſome time the French made (September 14) the farther conceſſion, that the fortreſſes of Kehl and Caſſel ſhould alſo be demoliſhed inſtead of being given up; and in a note preſented on the 3d of October, ſome other points in diſpute, of

of inferior conſequence, were either modified or changed. But the Directory, by their incapacity and want of diſcernment, had ſuffered the favorable moment to elapſe. By the diſplay of an ambition no leſs impolitic than unprincipled, they had again awakened the ſpirit of reſiſtance in the court of Vienna, which had recently entered into very intimate connections with the court of St. Peterſburg; and the victory of Aboukir had already laid the foundation of a new confederacy againſt France, infinitely more juſtifiable than the former.

A variety of meſſages and memorials having paſſed without effect, the French plenipotentiaries, on the 7th of December, preſented their ultimatum, to which an anſwer was peremptorily demanded in ſix days. The majority of the Deputation, including the miniſter of Pruſſia, tolerably ſatisfied with the conditions now offered, and dreading the renewal of the war, agreed to the propoſitions of the ultimatum. But the miniſters of Auſtria, Saxony, and Hanover, proteſted againſt all further ceſſion,—the count Lehrbach, the Imperial miniſter, declaring that the contingent of Auſtria was ready to march, in order to protect the empire from further aggreſſion. The French miniſters had now waſted a year in diſputes reſpecting the property of the ſwamps and moraſſes that obſtruct the

the courſe of the Rhine, and other points of controverſy either ſcandalouſly unjuſt or ridiculouſly inſignificant, when the march of the Ruſſians, which had for many weeks and even months engaged the attention of Europe, ſeemed at length to be deemed worthy of notice by the Directory.

In a note remitted January 1, 1799, to the Deputation of the empire, the French plenipotentiaries made a formal declaration, "that if the Diet of Ratiſbon conſented to the entrance of the Ruſſian troops on the territory of the empire, or did not, by every means in their power, give it their ſtrenuous oppoſition, that ſuch entrance would be conſidered by France as a violation of neutrality on the part of the empire." The Deputation, without any debate, voted that the note ſhould be ſent to Ratiſbon, and referred to the emperor and the Diet.

In a particular communication to the Imperial miniſter on the 10th of January, the French miniſters ſay, "they had orders to declare to him, that, in leaving a free paſſage to an army of a power which had declared war againſt France, and by permitting ſuch an army to croſs his ſtate, in order to reach the French troops, the emperor put the republic under the neceſſity of conſidering this act as a rupture of the ties which bound both ſtates."

At

At this very time the Ruſſians were in full march towards the frontier of Bavaria. The French troops therefore paſſed again to the right ſide of the Rhine; and the impregnable fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein, reduced to the laſt extremity by famine, ſurrendered to the arms of France, after a reſiſtance of eighteen months. Matters were now haſting faſt to a criſis. The Auſtrians had already, at the formal requeſt of the Griſon government,—ſuch at leaſt was the aſſertion of the London Gazette,—taken poſſeſſion of Coire, and the important poſt of Richenau; detachments being at the ſame time on their march to occupy the reſt of the Griſon country.

In anſwer to the French declaration and memorial, the Imperial court pretended to be "aſtoniſhed that the French ſhould have conceived the idea of addreſſing the Deputation of the empire on a ſubject which had no relation with their miſſion; expreſſing its ſatisfaction that the Deputation had referred this buſineſs, which was beyond its competence, to thoſe whom it concerned." The Deputation alſo coincided with the opinion of the Auſtrian cabinet, and declared, "that the march of the Ruſſian troops was beyond its competence." On the 31ſt of January the French plenipotentiaries preſented a declaration to the Deputation, importing,

porting, "that they had orders neither to receive nor remit any note on any of the points of the negotiation till that which they had remitted on the 1ſt of January, reſpecting the march of the Ruſſians, had received a categorical and ſatisfactory anſwer." On the ſame day a meſſage was likewiſe delivered to the Auſtrian miniſter, count Lehrbach, in which the French miniſters declared, "that if in fifteen days from the date of their letter the emperor had not compelled the Ruſſian troops to evacuate the Auſtrian territory, and ſuch of his other ſtates as made part of the German empire, hoſtilities ſhould forthwith begin between him and the French republic."—The emperor having now concerted his meaſures, deſigned not to make any reply to this menace; and the term ſpecified having elapſed, the French armies began their march into Suabia, under general Jourdan.

Hoſtilities had ſome months previous to this period actually commenced in Italy. It is neceſſary to premiſe, that in the ſpring of the preſent year a ſerious diſpute aroſe between the king of Sardinia and the new Ligurian republic, occaſioned by the encouragement given by the latter to the diſaffected and revolutionary ſpirit of the Piedmonteſe, which diſcovered itſelf in inſurrectionary movements. Hoſtilities had

had been openly commenced, when the Sardinian monarch implored, as the laſt humiliating reſource now left him, the mediation and protection of the French government. This was granted only on the condition that the citadel of Turin ſhould be confided to the care of a French garriſon. The gates were opened to them on the 28th of June. Thus the king of Sardinia continued to reign nominally, while the French were in reality maſters of the country.

During theſe tranſactions the Roman republic exhibited a ſcene of dilapidation and oppreſſion beyond example. In what proportion the public diſtreſs was to be aſcribed to the French government, or to the government of Rome eſtabliſhed and ſupported by the power of France, it is difficult exactly to aſcertain. Probably the balance of injuſtice would be found, on examination, very equal. The diſaſtrous meaſures of finance adopted by Faypoult, the chief of the French commiſſariate, were productive of ruin to individuals; and the plunder and corruption of the ſubordinate agents completed the picture of the public miſery; and, together with the perſecutions exerciſed againſt all who ſhowed any diſpoſition adverſe to theſe proceedings, excited continual diſturbances and inſurrections, and deſtroyed every hope of eſtabliſhing any rational ſyſtem of liberty. The venerable names

of

of ſenate, tribunate, and conſulate, ſerved only to remind the inhabitants of Rome of their degraded condition, and anſwered no other purpoſe than to add inſult to injury, and contumely to oppreſſion.

The Neapolitan troops, under the Imperial general Mack, had doubtleſs, with the ſecret approbation of the court of Vienna, been for ſome time paſt collecting on the frontier of the Roman republic. In the month of November, Mack ſent a formal ſummons to general Championet, who commanded in this quarter, to withdraw his troops from the Roman territory. To which Championet replied, "that ſuch a ſummons could only be regarded as an act of aggreſſion, and a direct violation of the ſubſiſting treaties." In reply to this declaration, general Mack, on the 24th of November, ſignified to general Championet, that his Neapolitan majeſty had in perſon paſſed the frontier on the preceding day, to take poſſeſſion of the Roman territory, revolutioniſed and uſurped ſince the peace of Campo Formio. The number of French troops in the Roman ſtate did not exceed ten thouſand: and ſo little political diſcernment had the Directory, or ſo defective was their information, that theſe were very ill armed and provided. The public magazines were empty, Civita Vecchia itſelf left defenceleſs; and

and the invaſion of the Neapolitans, who had collected on this occaſion their whole military force—a rabble of 60 or 70,000 men without ſkill, courage, or diſcipline, was evidently to the French government a moſt unwelcome and unexpected meaſure, productive of great political embarraſſment.

The ſtate of things in Europe, ſince the victory of Aboukir, had its effect alſo upon the mind of the monarch of Sardinia, whoſe conduct had been for ſome time very diſtaſteful to the French, and in whoſe dominions evident ſymptoms appeared of a counter-revolutionary ſpirit. Couriers were known frequently to paſs between the two courts of Naples and Turin, and letters were intercepted which plainly proved the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between them. In one of theſe, dated October the 6th (1798) written by baron Awervech, a Neapolitan nobleman, to the governor of Turin, it is ſaid, "The ambaſſador from the court of London to Berlin has juſt concerted with prince Repnin a meaſure the moſt bold that modern diplomacy could ſuggeſt in the preſent circumſtances, to put an end, as it were, by force, to the indeciſion of Auſtria. They will cauſe hoſtilities immediately to be commenced by the court of Naples. A treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive between theſe two powers, will authorize

rize his Sicilian majeſty again to call to his aid the Auſtrian contingent. Then all Europe will be put in motion upon the ſhores of the Boſphorus, as well as upon thoſe of the Danube, upon the banks of the Nieper as upon thoſe of the Rhine, in order to precipitate themſelves, *en maſſe*, upon that nation of uſurpers.—Such, ſir, is the plan concerted by the vaſt genius of prince Repnin, and of which you now ſee the firſt openings."

Immediately on the intelligence being received in Paris, that the Neapolitans had paſſed the frontier, war was declared in form againſt their Sicilian and Sardinian majeſties,—the Directory denouncing in their manifeſto "the long train of perfidies of which the court of Naples had been guilty, and which were now brought to the height by an audacious attack upon the French republic;—a court, which, during the whole courſe of the war of the coaleſced monarchs, diſtinguiſhed itſelf by the moſt inſenſate fury againſt the republic, notwithſtanding which the French government made no other uſe of the ſuperiority which victory gave them than for the purpoſe of moderation." They then enumerate the recent inſtances in which the court of Naples had ſhewn its ingratitude—"inciting and encouraging the Romans to revolt, and diſplaying its hoſtility to the Ligurian and Cisal-

pine republics.—While ſhe dared not openly to declare war againſt France, ſhe ſought to deſtroy in Italy all the free ſtates which were under her protection. Inſtead of inflicting ſignal vengeance for this conduct, the Directory did not oppoſe the taking poſſeſſion of the duchy of Benevento; they offered their mediation to deliver the king of Naples from the feudal pretenſions of Rome. They ſent to Naples a new ambaſſador (M. Garat) furniſhed with the moſt amicable and conciliatory powers, and were anxious to give ſatisfaction to his Sicilian majeſty reſpecting the object of Buonaparte's expedition. In return, the fleet of admiral Nelſon was honorably received at Syracuſe, and was revictualled in that port. It even received ſtores from the arſenal of the king, pilots to clear the Straits of Meſſina, and whatever was neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſs of the attack againſt the French. If too we recollect the inconceivable joy which was manifeſted at Naples on the ſight of the Engliſh fleet, the public honors which the court itſelf laviſhed on admiral Nelſon, in going out to welcome him, his triumphal entry, the large rewards granted to the meſſenger who brought the firſt account of this victory, and the illuminations and rejoicings which took place on this occaſion;—if it be remembered that, from the time of this victory, the audacity

audacity of the Neapolitan government has known no bounds;—if all theſe circumſtances are conſidered, it muſt be allowed that more hoſtile ſentiments were never manifeſted on one ſide, nor more patience ſhown on the other. The guilt of the Sardinian government, as an accomplice with Naples, is manifeſt from a thouſand circumſtances;—its ſentiments, its language, and even its actions, in proportion to its means, have been the ſame; and its artifice and hypocriſy exactly reſemble that of Naples. In fact, they have never ceaſed to make war in every way which their imbecillity and their cowardice ſuffered them to put into execution. The Piedmonteſe troops marched towards Loana at the ſame moment in which the Neapolitan army attacked the French;—and in the ſame moment alſo it was that the Sardinian government dared to require the evacuation of the citadel, and the diminution of the French troops in Piedmont."

Of the inimical diſpoſition of the king of Sardinia, with reſpect to France, there can exiſt no poſſibility of doubt; but the indications of that diſpoſition, as ſtated at length in this manifeſto, though ſtrong, were perhaps not altogether ſuch as would juſtify the declaration of open hoſtility on the part of the Directory. The king of Sardinia appears to have been a man

very inconſtant in his deſigns, and inconſiſtent in his conduct. He had done enough to give great and juſt offence to a proud and potent enemy, without poſſeſſing either ſtrength or courage to abide the conſequences. On the entrance of the French troops into Piedmont, in the month of December, without any attempt at reſiſtance, or appearance of coercion, he ſigned an act of abdication, and ſurrendered his whole country into the hands of the French. The Piedmonteſe troops, agreeably to the terms of the act, immediately adopted the French colours, and became a component part of the French army in Italy.

Whatever may have been the ſecret deſign of the Directory reſpecting Piedmont, they certainly were far from wiſhing to break with the government of Naples. They had even paid aſſiduous court to that government when it was manifeſtly in their power to attack that kingdom with every advantage. The reaſon is clear. The remote ſituation of Naples made it both inconvenient and hazardous for France to carry on a war with that corrupt and debilitated ſtate for any length of time. Conqueſts made there could not be permanent, nor could they be uſeful while they were retained. The misfortunes of the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. were not yet forgotten. The policy of the

the Directory therefore, as of their predeceſſors in power, the legiſlative and conventional aſſemblies, had, in relation to Naples, been that of exemplary mildneſs and moderation. But the late deliberate and unprovoked aggreſſion of the weak, raſh, and miſguided ſovereign of the Sicilies awakened all the republican reſentment and energy; and the manifeſto denounced, that this court, too long ſpared, would at length receive the reward of its demerits.

The main body of the Neapolitan army entered Rome without oppoſition on the 29th of November, whilſt the combined fleets of England and Naples took poſſeſſion of the port of Leghorn. The French, unable to make any reſiſtance to ſo immenſe a ſuperiority of numbers, had retreated towards Civita-Caſtellana, leaving a garriſon in the caſtle of St. Angelo. During the occupation of Rome by the king of Naples, different detachments of the Neapolitan army had been defeated by the French generals Lemoine and Ruſca; and reinforcements now arriving from all parts, a general attack upon the Sicilians took place throughout their whole line of poſts. In the various combats which enſued, the army of Naples ſuffered immenſe loſs—12,000 priſoners falling into the hands of the French, and 100 pieces of cannon.

His

His Sicilian majeſty now evacuated Rome with the greateſt precipitation, and was purſued with equal vigor by the French. On the 31ſt of December, an armiſtice, limited or illimited, was offered by general Mack, in a letter written from Capua, on pretext of the ſeverity of the weather and badneſs of the roads. General Championet returned for anſwer, "that as his army had ſo far overcome the difficulties both of the way and the weather, he ſhould not halt till he made his entrance into Naples."

Soon after this interchange of meſſages, the ſtrong poſt of Gaeta was taken, containing immenſe magazines and ſtores of every kind;—another body of troops, under general Duheſme, which had forced its way with great reſolution and ſucceſs along the line of the Adriatic coaſt through a country interſected with rivers, and guarded by troops which might have diſputed every ſtep, gaining a complete victory on the banks of the Vomano, and taking poſſeſſion of the important maritime fortreſs of Peſcara. The king of the Sicilies, with the royal family, accompanied by the Auſtrian, Ruſſian, and Britiſh ambaſſadors, had embarked on board the Britiſh ſhips in the harbour on the eve of the 1ſt of January, 1799, and been ſafely landed at Palermo. On the 21ſt Capua was ſurrendered to the French; and the Neapolitan army, being

now

now completely diſorganized, and the city and kingdom of Naples in a ſtate of abſolute anarchy, general Mack, againſt whom the popular rage was chiefly directed, thought proper to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to general Championet. Nothing now remained but the conqueſt of the metropolis—the citadel of St. Elmo having been already ſecured by the patriots: and the ſummons to ſurrender being rejected, every thing was prepared for the aſſault, which took place on the night of the 23d of January. The city, although deſerted by all who had any real intereſt in its ſafety, was defended with aſtoniſhing reſolution and bravery for many hours by the Lazaroni. The combat laſted till after the dawn of day, when the paſſages to the Caſtel Nuovo, and the Fort del Camine, being forced by the bayonet, liberal terms were offered to theſe poor wretches, now nearly ſurrounded, by the French general, who declared at the ſame time his high reſpect for St. Januarius. A ſhout of acclamation ſucceeded; and the Lazaroni immediately laid down their arms, proteſting that they were friends of liberty and the French, and wondering how they could have been ſo long deceived. The day ſucceeding the ceſſation of hoſtilities, the army of Rome was proclaimed the army of Naples, and this was immediately

mediately followed by another proclamation for eſtabliſhing a proviſional government in the NEAPOLITAN REPUBLIC.

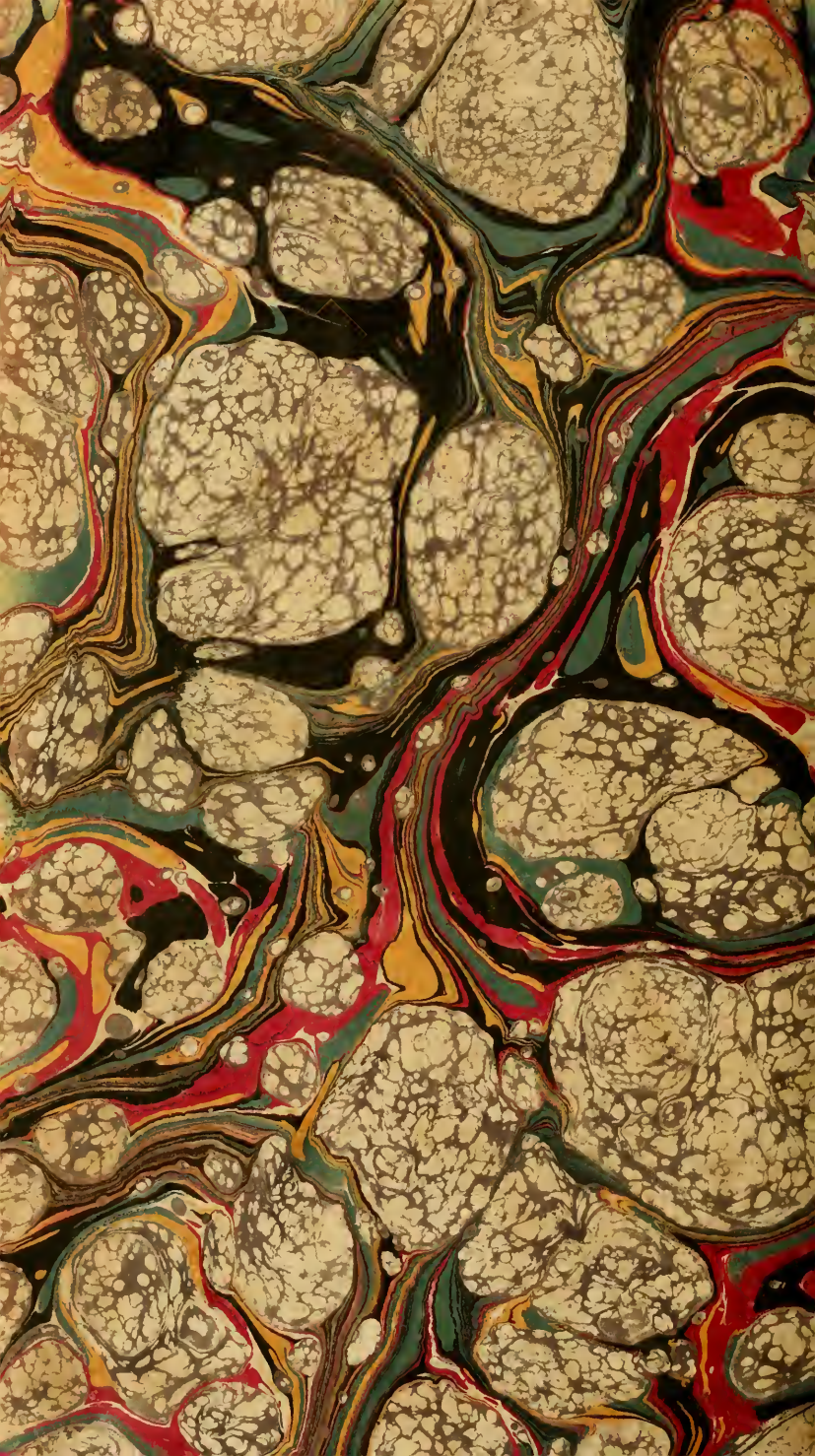
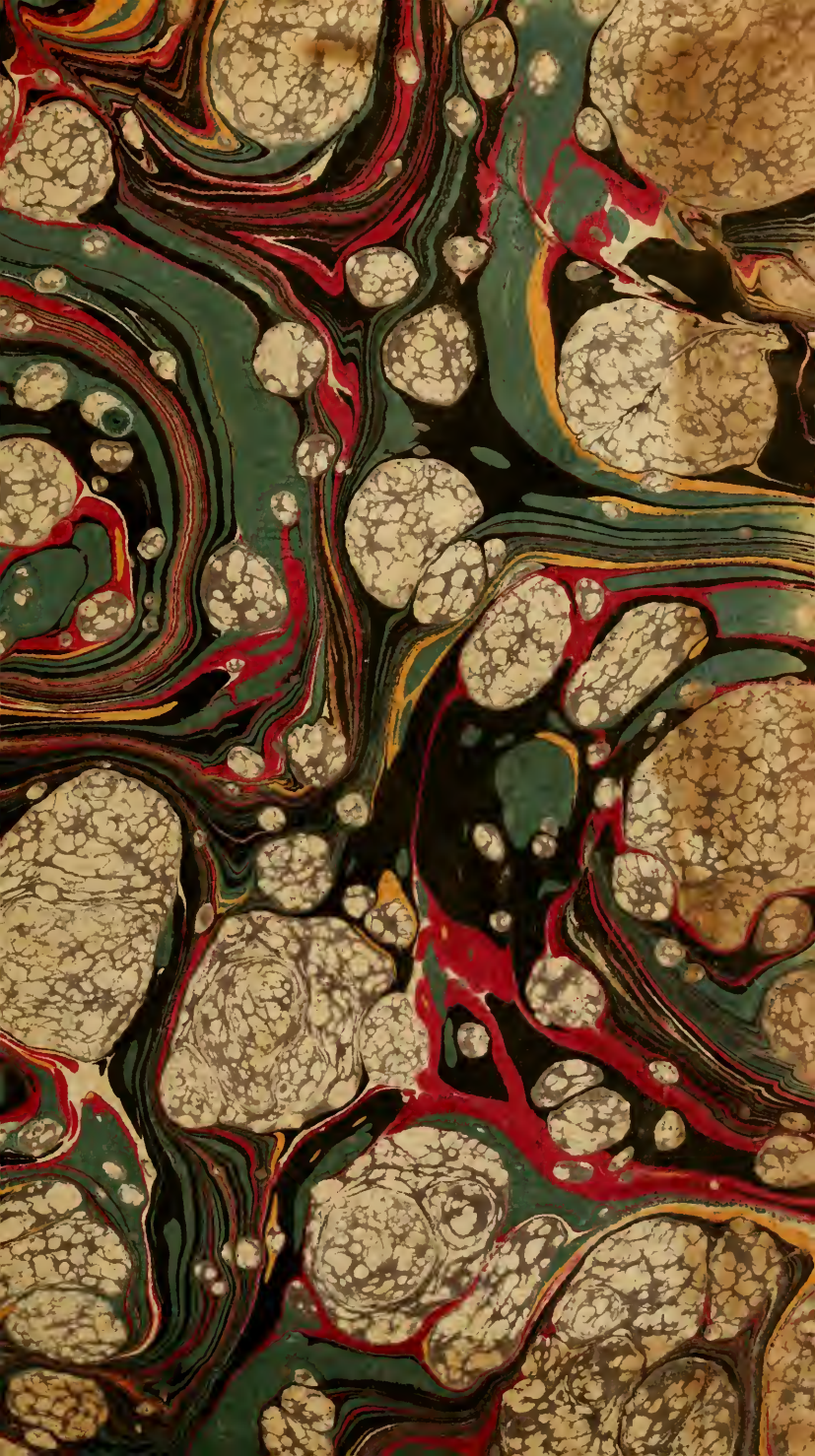
To conclude the hiſtory of this memorable year, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that on the 18th of December, at the moment probably of exultation on receiving the triumphant intelligence of the march of the Sicilians into Rome, a proviſional treaty was ſigned at St. Peterſburg between the emperor Paul and the king of Great Britain, conformably to the tenor of which the two high contracting powers engage "to employ all their endeavours to induce the king of Pruſſia to take an active part againſt the common enemy. Immediately, on his Pruſſian majeſty's conſenting to this meaſure, his Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias is ready to afford him a ſuccour of land forces; and he deſtines, for that purpoſe, 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with the neceſſary artillery. In conſideration of this ſervice, his Britannic majeſty engages to furniſh his majeſty the emperor a ſubſidy of 75,000*l.* ſterling per month, from the day on which the Ruſſian troops ſhall have paſſed the frontier: Alſo another ſubſidy of 37,500*l.* per month for extra charges during all the time that the ſaid troops ſhall be employed by virtue of this treaty: Alſo the further ſum of 225,000*l.* in three months,

to

to expedite the march of the troops to be employed in *the good cauſe*. And even previous to the termination of the negotiation with Pruſſia, the emperor *magnanimouſly* promiſes that the ſaid troops ſhall be put upon ſuch a footing, that, *agreeably to the ſtipulations of the treaty*, they may immediately be employed wherever the utility of the common cauſe ſhall require."—The firmneſs of the king of Pruſſia, in reſiſting this overture, together with the mild and guarded terms in which he expreſſed his refuſal, ſo as not merely to avoid offence, but to maintain as ſtrict a friendſhip with the courts of Ruſſia and Great Britain after as before this embarraſſing propoſition was made to him, eſtabliſhed his reputation as a wiſe and diſcerning ſtateſman—fully juſtifying the high and ſanguine hopes which his renowned predeceſſor Frederic the Great is known to have entertained reſpecting him.

Thus, by the profligate ambition and preſumption of the French Directory on the one part, and the pride, folly, and miſchievous activity of the Britiſh adminiſtration on the other, was a war, which appeared well nigh terminated, recommenced with additional fury;—ſeeming but too likely to extend to a long ſucceſſion of calamitous and mournful years, deſtined to be recorded in letters of blood. But the terrified imagination

imagination ſees pourtrayed, on the veil which conceals futurity from mortal view, frightful forms and ominous characters, bearing little reſemblance to the events actually pre-ordained, in the courſe of human affairs, to take place.

THE END.

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